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**ORIGINAL SIN, FREE-WILL,
GRACE, REGENERATION, JUSTIFICATION,
FAITH, GOOD WORKS,
AND
UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION,**

**AS MAINTAINED IN CERTAIN
DECLARATIONS OF OUR REFORMERS,
WHICH ARE
THE GROUNDWORK
OF THE
ARTICLES OF OUR ESTABLISHED CHURCH
UPON THESE SUBJECTS :
WITH AN IMPORTANT ACCOUNT
OF THE
SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES IN 1604,
AND AN
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE WHOLE.**

**BY THE
REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A. F.S.A.**
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND KEEPER OF THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S RECORDS.

~~~~~  
*Hoc meum studium, quum multa intricatiùs disputarentur, ut exciperem  
res utiles, easque ex illà caligine evolutas, quantum possem, planè recitarem.*  
*Melancthon ad Calvinum.*  
~~~~~

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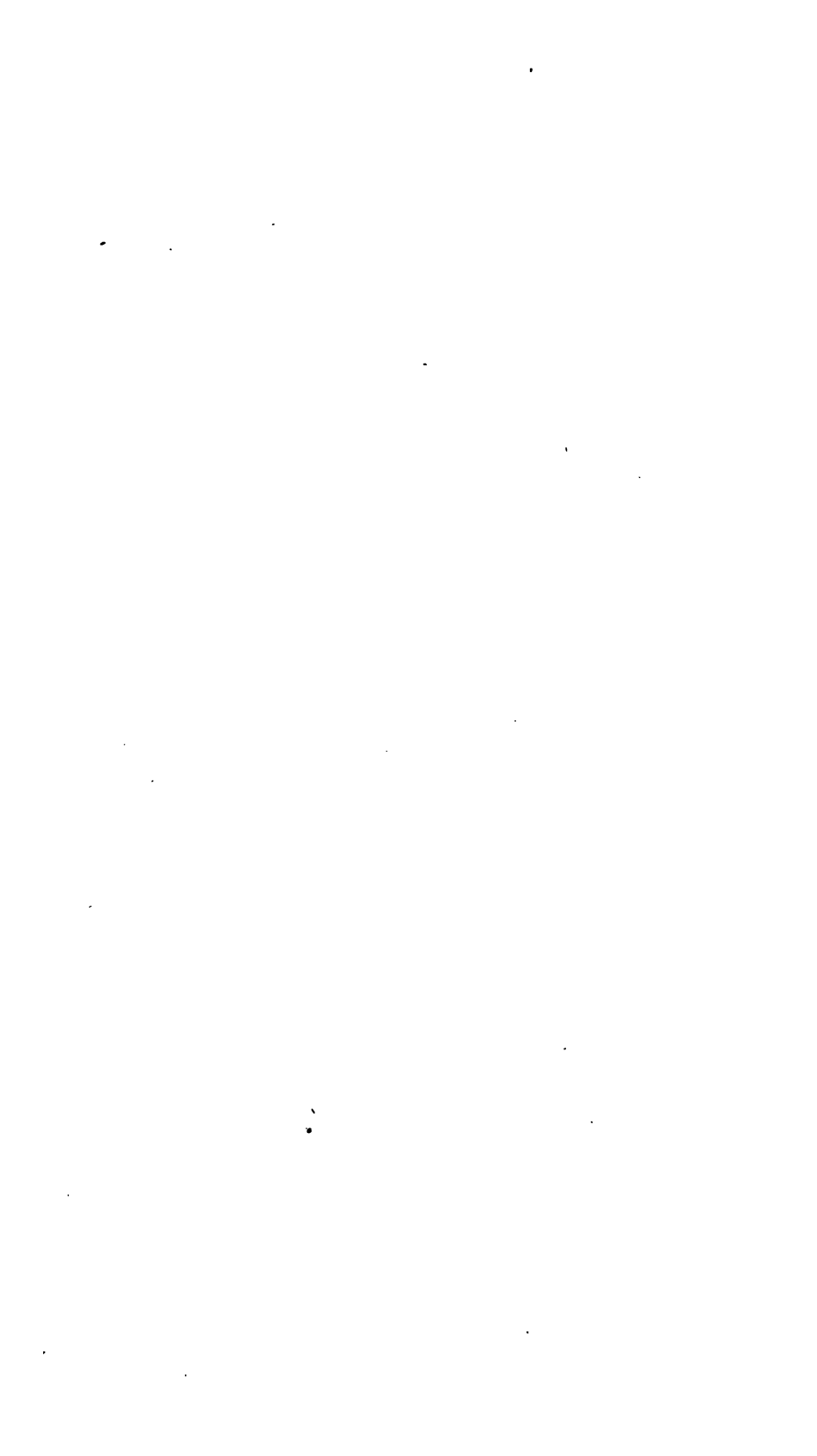
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

INTRODUCTION.

THE pieces, which compose the present volume, are of the highest importance, and of the most authentick character, in our theological history.

They shew, in chronological order, from the beginning of the Reformation, till the Articles of our Religion were set forth in the reign of Elizabeth, the sentiments of our Reformers upon doctrines in these Articles, which some have supposed to express the language, and to breathe the spirit, of Calvin : not their private and individual sentiments, but what they collectively or by authority pronounced.

Of these venerable memorials some are not now of common occurrence. To many persons it may, therefore, be acceptable, thus to have brought before their view, and to have connected,

a materials,

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materials, to which references are often made by our theological writers, and by which our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, may be mutually illustrated, but which are not easily attainable.

Some remarks connected with the histories which speak of them, and with the doctrines which they exhibit, may be offered. And first for what is historical.

I. The first extracts are taken from *The Articles of Religion*, "set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority," in 1536; the evidence of the first publick and authorized attempt at a reformation, in this reign, of religious opinion. In the next year appeared, (*a*) *The Institution of a Christian Man*; a work prepared by bishops and other divines, consisting of an Exposition of the Creed, the Sacraments, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria; with the Articles of Justification, Purgatory, Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist,

(*a*) *The Institution of a Christen Man, conteynnyng the Expositiō or Interpretation of the commune Crede, of the seven Sacramentes, of the x Commandementes, and of the Paternoster, and the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.* 4to. Lond. T. Berthelet, M.D.XXXVII. For a more full account of the Articles, (as collated also with this book,) see the first note in the following compilation.

adopted

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adopted, with some verbal variations, from the Articles of 1536. Thus identified, the propriety of collating both, in those Articles which I have selected, will be obvious. An "Epistle Prefatory," accompanied the latter, signed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law. It was sometimes called the *bishops' book*; from the circumstance, no doubt, of so many prelates having been concerned in the composition of it. It was a fatal blow to the enemies of the Reformation, and was confirmed in its triumph by an act of parliament. This book has been sometimes confounded with the edition of it greatly enlarged, and (as an historian observes) "amended much," in 1543; of which edition I am presently to speak more largely. For thus Dr. Nichols has written. (b) "A. D. 1537. The bishops and clergy being assembled in Convocation, was published the book, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, in which the rudiments of the Christian religion are laid down in a plain and most excellent method; *the chief*

(b) Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. Introduction.

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Articles of Faith being therein clearly proved out of God's Word. And it can hardly be expressed how excellently well the popish errors are here confuted, and how, though with the retention of the ancient terms, the sound and orthodox doctrine is taught. It was, indeed, a noble work; and, considering what the ears of those times could bear, composed with admirable wisdom. And I dare engage, that it is hard to find a writer in any former or in any following age, who has gone through these controverted heads of divinity, viz. *Free-Will, Justification, and Faith*, with that clearness and freedom, and without giving up their judgement to other great men's opinions, and determined these disputed points so distinctly, so smartly, and so much to the edification of the common people, as the authors of this book have done." Now, in the Institution, the doctrines upon Faith, upon Free-Will, and upon Good Works, are not to be found; and that upon Justification is merely the copy of the brief Article in 1536, not the abundant and perspicuous illustration which is found in the augmented Institution, with a new title, of 1543. Again, Dr. Nichols refers to the Institution

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stitution as containing the rejection of dangerous conceits on the subject of (c) Predestination ; which judicious and animated advice (d) exists only in the Article of Justification enlarged in 1543.

Nor is this the only mistake in regard to this important work. Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, has asserted, that the Institution with its varied name, and augmented substance, appeared in (e) 1540. Strype, with more caution, has said, (f) " this book came forth again in 1540, (*unless my manuscript mistake this year for 1543,*) very much enlarged, and reduced into another form, and bearing another name, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man.*" Wheatly has (g) followed the mistaken assertion of Burnet as to a republication in 1540 ; and a learned

(c) Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. P. I. ch. 4.

(d) See the present volume, p. 33.

(e) History of the Reformation, B. III.

(f) Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer, B. I. ch. 13.

(g) Illustration of the Common Prayer. Appendix to the Introduction.

Roman

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(h) Roman Catholick of modern times, without further inquiry, has chosen to adopt the error.

A real production of the year 1540, however, is exhibited in the second Article of the present compilation; which forms (i) part of the consultations of bishops, and other divines, commissioned, in that year, by the king, to examine religious points; intended, in the opinion of Strype, to contain "the publick judgement and professed doctrine of the Church of England." This extract briefly illustrates the points of Justification, Faith, and Good Works.

The business, assigned to these commissioners, was divided into particular heads, proposed as queries; the answers to which were returned in writing. Accordingly, there remain (k) *The Resolutions*

5 (h) An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books, of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Principal Protestant Churches. By the Author of the *Horæ Biblicæ*. [Charles Butler, Esq.] 8vo. 1816. p. 81.

(i) Strype, Ann. of the Reformation, who mentions the MS. from which it is taken. Vol. I. Appendix, p. 301.

(k) Burnet, History of the Reformation, Records, B. III, No. XXI. The Manuscript, which contained these Resolutions,

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Resolutions of several bishops and divines of some Questions concerning the Sacraments ; by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation ; taken from the originals, under their own hands. Contrariety of opinion there was, as might be expected ; and some opposition to the firmness of Cranmer. But this, in the words of Strype, (1) “ended in two good issues ; that the archbishop’s enemies were clothed with shame and disappointment ; and a very good book, chiefly of the archbishop’s composing, came forth for the instruction of the people, known by the name of *A Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man.*”

We are thus brought to the third Article of

tions, was the property of Dr, Stillingfleet, when Burnet was allowed the use of it. It is now, with another volume of equal value, in the archiepiscopal library of Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace. They contain abundant materials, subservient to the history of the Reformation, which the learned historian of it has been pleased to overpass ; and bear the ancient titles of *Archbishop Cranmer’s Collections of Law*, and *Archbishop Cranmer’s Collections of Divinity* ; the one, a folio of 219 leaves ; the other a folio of 181.

(1) *Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer*, B. I. ch. 20.

the

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the present work, the *Necessary Erudition*; from which the entire declarations of Faith, Free-Will, Justification, and Good Works, are copied. This book, it has been already observed, is the Institution enlarged; having (*m*) passed a revision of the commissioners, appointed in 1540 to examine religious matters; having been corrected by the king's own hand; having been again transmitted to the review of Cranmer, and by him referred to the Convocation of 1543, where it was received with approbation.

It was published in 1543, both in a quarto and duodecimo form; in either shape no other than a manual, though bishop Burnet has thought proper to call it “(*n*) a large book.” I have followed the quarto copy. To some of the impressions of the other, the erroneous date of 1534 for 1543 is prefixed; and being desirous that no reader may be misled by this circumstance, I may add that this transposition of a figure at the

(*m*) Plaifere, Appeal to the Gospel, ch. 14, note, Camb. edition, 1719, p. 117.

(*n*) Introduction to his Exposition of the 39 Articles. Dr. Laurence doubts, that Burnet had ever seen the Institution of a Christian Man. Sermon. p. 190. I suppose, also, that he was as much a stranger to the *Necessary Erudition*.

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press is not without parallel ; as, in the title of the Vision of Pierce Plowman, 1505 is printed for 1550. A Latin translation of the Necessary Erudition, with a preface, was published in 1544, and entitled *Pia et Catholica Christiani Hominis Institutio*. The English work bears in its title the date of the very day of its publication, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man, set furthe by the Kynges Majestie of Englande. T. Berthelet, xxix. day of Maye, M.D.XLIII." The annals of our typography exhibit no earlier copy. And a further detection of bishop Burnet's elaborate error has been acutely and satisfactorily made by Dr. Laurence. (o) "To corroborate his statement, Burnet misquotes an act of parliament, *which passed in the year when the work actually appeared*, but before it was completed for publication. In this statute (he remarks) all the books of the Old and New Testament of Tindal's translation are forbidden to be kept or used in the king's dominions, 'with all other books *contrary to the doctrine set forth in the year 1540.*' And again, 'Every

(o) Eight Sermons preached before the Univ. of Ox. in 1804, by Rich. Laurence, LL.D. p. 192.

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person might read and teach in their houses *this book set out in the year 1540.*' vol. i. p. 322. Now the words of the act are these : in the first instance, 'contrary to that doctrine; which, since the year of our Lord 1540, is, or any time hereafter during the king's majesty's life, &c.—shall be set forth by his highness;' and in the second instance, (not *the book set out in the year 1540*, but) 'all such doctrine, as, since the said year of our Lord 1540, is or shall be set forth by the king's majesty,' &c. expressions certainly conveying a meaning very different from that of *Burnet*. The truth was, that the commissioners, appointed to draw up the work in question, did certainly meet in 1540; but that the work itself was not published until *after the prorogation of the parliament on the 12th of May, [1543.]* During the last week in April we find it in the hands of the convocation; and *on the following 29th of May it was printed.*"

From the *Necessary Erudition*, (which indeed the simplicity and elegance of the language, as well as the doctrine, discover in many parts the hand and heart of Cranmer, especially in those which I have selected,) we pass to the next article of the compilation; *the Homilies on Salvation,*

L

tion, Faith, and Good Works. These I have to assign expressly to the pen of this archbishop, upon authority which will hardly be questioned, notwithstanding the contrary suppositions of some historians; and which will be gladly received, where any opinion approaching to the fact has been entertained. I am not aware, that the authority has ever been noticed; but he who affords it, will be found worthy of respectful notice, both as an acute and powerful writer.

Fuller is perhaps the first historian, who (p) relates, that "some beheld the Homilies as not sufficiently legitimated by the 35th Article to be, for their doctrine, the undoubted issue of the Church of England; alledging them *composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed, at the best, but the chaplains of the archbishops, under whom they were made.* Hence is it, that some have termed them *homely Homilies, others a popular discourse, &c.*" They, who could make such observations, were strangers to the dignity, and comprehensiveness, and perspicuity, of illustration, which at least in these Homilies of Cranmer (not to

(p) Church Hist. B. IX. p. 75.

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mention several other) are obvious, and are worthy of him. But to proceed historically. Heylin seems to consider the encouragement, rather than the composition, of the archbishop, as the characteristick of his grace's share in the Homilies. (q) "Though the making of these Homilies be commonly ascribed (and in particular by Mr. Fox) to archbishop Cranmer, yet it is to be understood no otherwise of him, than that it was chiefly done by encouragement and direction; not sparing his own hand to advance the work, as his great occasions did permit." What Strype has said, is embodied in the following conjectures of a very learned theologian of modern times. "(r) Who the authors were of the book of Homilies, *has never been ascertained*. Of the second, published in the reign of queen Elizabeth, I am not aware, that the writer of any single Homily has been indubitably specified. *With regard to the first part*, we may, I think, agree with Strype, who says, 'the *Homily of Salvation* particularly *seems* to be of his [Cranmer's] own doing.'

(p) *Quinquarticular Controv.* P. II. c. 8.

(r) *Eccl. Biography*, by the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, 1810. Vol. iii. p. 505.

Life of Archbp. Cranmer, p. 149. And the same may perhaps reasonably be conjectured of the second Homily, "*of the Misery of all Mankind* ; of the fourth, *of the true and lively Faith* ; and of the fifth, *of Good Works*." This therefore brings me to the proof, that Cranmer wrote the three Homilies in question.

John Woolton, the nephew of the celebrated Alexander Nowell, was the author of several theological works in the reign of Elizabeth. He was a canon residentiary of the Church of Exeter, and afterwards bishop of that see. Wood describes him as "*(s)* a person of great piety and reason, and *an earnest assertor of conformity against the opposers thereof*, for which he was blamed by many, but commended by more, after his death.' In 1576, not long before he was *(t)* advanced to the prelacy, he published *The Christian Manuell, or the Life and Maners of True Christians*, 12mo. Herein he says, with manly eloquence, "*(u)* What wee teache and thinke of Good Workes, *those Homelies written in our Englishe*

(s) Ath. Ox. vol. i. p. 230. edit. 1691.

(t) July 2, 1579. Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* p. 83.

(u) *Christian Manuell*, sign. c. iii.

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tounge of SALVATION, FAITH, and WORKES, by that lyght and martyr of Okristes church, CRANMER, archebysshoppe of Canterburie, doo playne testifye and declare; which are buylt upon so sure a foundation, that no sycophant can de-face them, nor sophyster confute them, whyle the worlde shall endure: unto whom I remytte the reader desyrous of an absolute dyscourse in this matter." Living so very near the time when Cranmer flourished, of such distinguished character in the Church, and to this day not contradicted in his plain assertion, bishop Woolton therefore appears to me an evidence, in this case, of indisputable authority.

It is to the first of these Homilies that the framers of our Articles of Religion, both in the time of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, refer; though under the name of the *Homily of Justification*: our reformers, it has been (w) observed, understanding the terms *justification* and *salvation* as equivalent.

The *First Booke of Homilies* (x) was published in 1547. The earliest copy, however,

(w) See the present volume, p. 47.

(x) By Grafton, in 4to. See Ames, *Hist. of Printing*. p. 196.

which

which I have met with, bears the date of (y) 1548. This I have followed in the present publication; not without noticing the several variations from it, (in the Homilies cited,) which first appeared in the reign of Elizabeth, when it was republished with the *Second Book of Homilies*. It is due to the memory of the prelate, as well as to the cause of sound criticism, that his own words be not overpassed. They have been often altered, it will be seen, with little judgement.

The next venerable monument of our reformers, from which I have selected several chapters, is the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, composed under the superintendence of the same watchful primate. This work comprehends not only a system of ecclesiastical laws, but in the doctrinal part frequent positions almost in the words of our Articles. It had been begun in Henry the Eighth's time. But Fox the historian, who first published it in the reign of Elizabeth,

(y) Certain Sermons or Homilies appointed by the king's majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their Churches where they have cure. Anno 1548. 4to.

says,

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says, (z) “nescio quo modo, quâque occasione, res successu caruit, sive temporum iniquitate, sive nimia eorum cessatione, quibus tunc negotium committebatur.” The design was revived in 1549; and under the year 1551 Strype informs us, that out of the number of two and thirty persons appointed to conduct it, eight were especially selected; out of the bishops, archbishop Cranmer and the bishop of Ely; out of the divines, Cox and Peter Martyr; out of the civilians, Taylor and May; out of the common-lawyers, Lucas and Goodrick. “(a) This work they plied close this winter:—this was a very noble enterprize, and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent archbishop; who, with indefatigable pains, had been, *both in this and the last king’s reign*, labouring to bring this matter about; and he did his part; for he brought the work to perfection. But it wanted the king’s ratification, which was delayed partly by business, and partly by enemies.” While it was thus waiting for the royal confirmation, the king died. (b) “God grant,” bishop Burnet exclaims, “that

(z) Ref. Leg. Eccl. Præf. ad Lectorem.

(a) Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer, B. II. c. 26.

(b) Hist. of his Own Time, Conclusion.

a time may come, in which that noble design, so near being perfected in King Edward the sixth's days, of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established!" It appears to have been (c) "offered to the Commons, at the beginning of the session in 1571, by the puritan members; and that the queen, jealous of their encroachment upon her supremacy, told them, she had seen their articles, and liked them well, but would do something of herself." Under the direction of archbishop Parker, however, the work was in (d) that year published by Fox; and prefixed to it are the letters recommendatory of the sovereigns Henry and Edward. The Latinity of it has been (e) repeatedly admired. It was again published in (f) 1640.

The

(c) Dr. Winchester, Dissert. on the 17th Article, ed. Ox. 1773. p. 47.

(d) Ex officinâ Joh. Daij. 1571, mense Aprilis.

(e) Fox, Præf. ad Lect. Burnet, Hist. of the Ref.

(f) Dr. Winchester cites an edition of 1641, which he calls the *second*. Dissert. on the 17th Art. ut supr. p. 52. The real second edition, which I possess, is dated 1640, "typis T. H. et R. H. impensis Laurentii Sadler habitantis in parvâ Britanniâ,

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The *Articles of Religion*, formed in 1552, almost wholly by Cranmer, are the next object of notice in the present volume. (g) "Cranmer was not only officially deputed to the task on account of his rank and situation, but eminently qualified for it by his character and abilities. Indeed, when interrogated on this very point by his relentless persecutors, not long before his death, he unequivocally avowed himself to have been the author of them. It has nevertheless been usually conceived, that he derived much assistance from Ridley, who, as far as the paucity of his writings enables us to judge, seems to have no less excelled in perspicuity than in solidity of argument, in manliness of conception than in energy of expression. Latimer likewise has been considered as his coadjutor in the same undertaking. That each of these respectable bishops was consulted on the occasion, appears highly probable. Ridley, if an anecdote recorded of him be accurate, expressly stated, that he both perused the produc-

tion, &c. But there are certainly copies, which bear another notification, with the date of 1641, viz. "impensis Societatis Stationariorum." One of these is in the Lambeth Library. It is the same book with a different title-page.

(g) Dr. Laurence, *Serm.* p. 29, at seq.

tion

tion before its publication, and noted many things for it; that he thus consented to it, but that he was not the author of it. The venerable Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in the reign of Henry, declining a reinstatement in it, then dwelt under the roof of the archbishop, by whom, for his virtues and integrity, he was sincerely respected and cordially beloved. To a divine of this description so peculiarly circumstanced, it is impossible to suppose a design of such importance not to have been communicated; to one who had acquired the proud title of the apostle of England, who had long been the primate's fellow-labourer in the work of reformation, and who was capable not only of improving it by his wisdom and experience, but of conferring upon it an old man's benediction. But although we allow this, and even more than this; although we admit, that Cranmer held in the highest esteem the masculine mind of Ridley, and the plain but strong sense as well as unshaken probity of Latimer; men, who bore able testimony to the truth while in prosperity, and in adversity sealed it with their blood; yet it appears not that, from any consciousness of personal inferiority, he ever beheld them with an obsequious eye. He indeed ought alone to be

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considered as the real and not ostensible author of the production ; although collecting the sentiments of others, yet in all cases exercising the privilege of accepting or rejecting what may have been offered to him at pleasure, and regulating his decisions by a judgment, to which all with submission bowed ; which, matured by the most extensive reading, and formed upon the purest principles, his adversaries respected and his friends revered."

Such is the masterly vindication of Cranmer's claim to the composition of our Articles. In another part of his work, the same eloquent writer has observed, that (*h*) "upon the general question of Ridley's aid in the composition of our Articles, it is curious to mark the progress of conjectural assertion. Strype conceives 'that the archbishop was the penner, or at least the great director, of them, *with the assistance, as is very probable, of bishop Ridley.*' Mem. of Cranmer, p. 272. Burnet makes a similar remark. When this gets into the hands of Neal, we find 'that it was resolved in council to reform the doctrine of the Church, and that archbishop Cranmer and

(*h*) Dr. Laurence, Sermon, p. 219.

bishop

bishop Ridley were appointed to this work. Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 49." It would not then have diminished the value of his instructive pages, if a liberal papist of our own days had omitted, what in his work is stated without proof, that archbishop Cranmer (i) and *bishop Ridley* framed the forty-two Articles of Edward the sixth.

In May 1552, these Articles were laid before the Privy Council; and in the following September returned to Cranmer, by whom they were reconsidered and augmented, and at length delivered to the king. In November they were again sent to the primate for his final revision, which was made without delay, and dispatched with an earnest letter to the Lords of the Council; (k) "*besechynge them to be means unto the kyngs majestie, that al the bishops may have authority from hym to cause all their prechers, archdecons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with al their clergie, to subscribe to the said Articles.* And then, I trust,

(i) Butler, Hist. et Lit. Acc. of the Formularies, ut supr. p. 72.

(k) Strype, Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer, App. No. LXIV.

that

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that such a concorde and quyetness in religion shal shortely follow thereof, as ells is not to be loked for many years. God shal therby be glorified, his truth shal be avaunced, and your lordships shal be rewarded of hym, as the setters forward of his true word and gospel."

These Articles, having been approved in council, accordingly obtained the royal sanction; and were published, in 1553, both by John Day and Richard Grafton, not without some verbal variation. Other variations there are in the copy of these Articles, printed by bishop Burnet, which I have minutely noted; not omitting to shew, how not only a word, but sometimes part of a sentence, differs in our present Articles from those of Edward the sixth, and those printed before the year 1571; and also how, in several readings, these last agree.

The Articles being thus allowed, and published; there followed almost immediately the publication of *Catechismus Brevis Christianæ Disciplinæ Summam continens, omnibus ludimagistris autoritate regiâ commendatus*; to which the Articles of Religion were subjoined. The king's letter of recommendation, prefixed to it, is dated at Greenwich, May 20, 1553, not many days

days before his death. It was printed also in English, as well as Latin; though Strype merely says, that (l) "the king by his letters patent commanded a *Latin* Catechism to be taught." And archbishop Wake, considering the complete model of our Church Catechism to have been here first laid, (m) speaks also of it only as in Latin. But it was certainly printed in English, in the same year. It has been commonly called Edward the sixth's Catechism. I have made my selections from the Latin copy for the purpose of affording, in these passages, the easy means of comparison with the Catechism published in 1570, which beyond dispute is the production of Nowell, to whom also this of 1553 has been (n) ascribed. But another author has found a learned assertor of his right to the composition of this Catechism in archdeacon Churton. (o) "Among the works, which are not very numerous, of Poinet, bishop of Winchester, Bale reckons *A Catechism*

(l) Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer, B. II. c. 34.

(m) Brief Comm. upon the Church Catechism, 3d edit. Dedication.

(n) See Strype's Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer, B. II. c. 34.

(o) Life of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. Ox. 1809. p. 161.

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to the King; and, to identify the book, he quotes, as his manner is, the first words of Edward the sixth's letter, prefixed to what is called his Catechism. The industrious author, in his learned and extensive work *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, is not without mistakes; nor is this very accurately styled *Catechismus ad Regem*; but as it is plain what book was intended, and as there is nothing of real weight to throw into the opposite scale, this, so far as I know, single contemporary evidence for ascertaining who was the writer of the book, must, I presume, be admitted as decisive." Heylin, in his *Quinquarticular History*, considers also Poynt as the author. And Strype notices the same belief.

On the other hand, Nowell's claim has thus been vindicated. (p) "It is certain that this Catechism, as well as the Articles which accompany it, was formed and digested under the eye of Cranmer; for this was publicly owned by him in his answers to certain interrogations, which were put to him by queen Mary's commissioners, and that they were submitted to the king for his

(p) *Anecdotes of Literature, &c.* by the Rev. W. Beloe, 1808. vol. iii. p. 23.

approbation. Such approbation was expressed by the king's letter, in which the Catechism is thus described: '*Cùm brevis et explicata Catechismi ratio, à pio quodam et erudito viro conscripta, nobis ad cognoscendum offeretur, ejus pertractationem et diligentem inquisitionem quibusdam episcopis, et aliis eruditis, commisimus, &c.*' It does not seem likely, that the king would have mentioned Poynt, who was now bishop of Winchester, in no higher terms than as *pious et eruditus vir*; and from his referring the book to *bishops*, we may suppose that it came from one who was not of that rank." I must confess, I do not see the force of this conclusion: if the work was that of a bishop, to whom with greater propriety might it be referred than to his peers? We might, in the same strain of reasoning, contend that because the book was referred to other *learned men*, as well as bishops, it *therefore* came from one who was not of that description.

More acute is the observation which follows, that (q) "the internal evidence of the book warrants us to assign it to Nowell. For

(q) *Anecdotes of Literature, &c.* by the Rev. W. Beloe, 1808. vol. iii. pp. 23, 24.

upon a comparison of it with that of which he is the acknowledged author, which he drew up at Cecil's request, and presented to the Convocation in 1562, and published in 1570, it will be found that the latter is only an enlargement of the former, of which the plan, the matter, and the doctrines are regularly followed, and frequently the same words and expressions are used." These two books, indeed, have much in common; but the Catechism of 1570 is easily attainable, and therefore (as I said) may be compared with what is copied in this volume. (r) "Whosoever was the author," as Strype relates, "the archbishop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it unto the king; it being that prelate's great design by *Catechisms*, and *Articles of Religion*, and plain Expositions of the Fundamentals, to instil right principles into the minds of youth, and common people, for the more effectual rooting out popery, that had been so long entertained by the industrious nurselling up the nation in ignorance." Among the minutes of matters, which were to be considered in the Convocation of 1562, one indeed

(r) Mem. of Abp. Cranmer, B. II. ch. 34.

was, (s) "A Catechism is to be set forth in Latin : which is already done by Mr. Dean, of Paul's, [Nowell,] and only wanteth viewing." This is supposed to be the Catechism, published in 1570 ; in the prefatory address to which, there is, however, (t) no mention made by Nowell of the Catechism of Edward the VIth. Archdeacon Churton considering Nowell to have (u) "availed himself of almost all that was excellent in Poinet's Catechism," therefore pronounces, that "he has by his masterly arrangement, application, and improvement, of what was once another's, made it his own ; and intitled himself to the praise of the architect, who, in constructing a fair and commodious edifice, disdains not to use old as well as new materials."

The last extracts, given in this volume, from the works of our own reformers, are from that admirable specimen of earnest and vigorous writing, the *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* of bishop Jewel ; which (x) was finished in 1561 ; and

(s) Strype, Ann. Ref. Qu. Eliz. and Churton, Life of Nowell, p. 166.

(t) Churton, Life of Nowell, p. 172.

(u) Ibid. p. 407.

(x) Strype, Life of Abp. Parker, p. 99.

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was published in 1562 by the queen's authority, was recognised as a national confession of faith, and as such has been printed in the "*Corpus Confessionum Fidei*." It spread into all the countries of Europe; and was soon after translated into our own language, by lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon; into German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Dutch; and was printed in Greek at Constantinople, under the direction of Cyril the patriarch. The character of it is well drawn by Dr. Humfrey, the biographer of the prelate. (*y*) "*Apologia verò sic confecta est, ut prima pars sit veræ doctrinæ illustratio, et paraphrastica quædam duodecim fidei Christianæ articulorum expositio: secunda, succincta et solida objectionum reprehensio. Si spectetur ordo, nihil distributius; si perspicuitas, nihil lucidius; si stylus, nihil tersius; si verba, nihil splendidius; si res, nihil nervosius.*" It was also among the designs of the Convocation, already noticed, that to Nowell's Catechism, and to "certain Articles concerning the principal grounds of Christian religion—much like to

(*y*) Joannis Juelli Vita, &c, Laurentio Humfredo, S. T. P. Theologiæ apud Oxon. Prof. Reg. autore. 1573, p. 187.

such

such Articles as were set forth a little before the death of king Edward," should be "adjoined the *Apology lately set forth*;" and that all these should be "joined in one book, and by common consent be authorized as containing true doctrine." But for this harmony of doctrine "in one book," we find no further preparation: of the Articles, however, the establishment was now enacted.

Such are the several publick documents, or declarations, produced or made before the establishment of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION, from which I have given extracts; to which the framers of these Articles directed their attention; with the spirit of which they concur; and the words of which they almost literally adopt. To those Articles of Edward the sixth, which illustrate the (z) doctrines, offered to notice, in this volume, they added what is now the twelfth, OF GOOD WORKS. "Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to

(z) See p. 1, 123, 124.

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God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith ; insomuch, that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit." With the (*a*) Necessary Erudition, the (*b*) Homily of Faith, the (*c*) Catechismus Brevis, and the (*d*) Apologia of Jewel, as well as with the (*e*) Confession of Augsburg, the agreement here is obvious.

What remains of the particular proceedings of this Convocation, has been (*f*) often printed. The thirty-nine Articles were subscribed, as they have appeared in Latin ; as in 1571, after some revision, they were again generally subscribed in English, conformably to the injunction of the Parliament : to which injunction, as having settled the Articles, all subsequent Acts, which mention them, refer ; and the ratification, subjoined to them, has therefore borne the unvaried date of 1571. In regard to manuscripts, both

(*a*) See p. 39, et seq.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 136.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 139.

(*e*) Art. XX. Aug. Conf, p. 156.

(*f*) Burnet, Strype, Gibson's Synod. Angl. p. 191, et seq.
maintained

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maintained and impugned as the (g) original subscriptions on these occasions, the importance of the question is diminished, when we consider the memorable subscription which was made, when James the first ascended the throne. That no dispute as to any clause or expression, in consequence of pretended omission or interpolation, might fairly be made, a printed copy of the Articles was now subscribed. This subscription in 1604, is believed to be (h) "*the most regular that ever was made to the Articles ;*" and was consigned to the (i) custody of the president of the Convocation, after all the signatures had been made. The (k) reason of this subscription, however, has to some been not apparent; and the record of it, from the manner in which it has been spoken of, may by many be supposed to be lost. Enabled to certify the

(g) Bennet's Essay on the 39 Articles of Religion, 1715. Collins's Hist. and Crit. Essay on the 39 Art. 1724. Examination of Bp. Burnet's Hist. of the 39 Art. 1702. Defence of Bp. Burnet, in Answ. to the Exam. 1703.

(h) See the present volume, p. 213.

(i) As that of 1562 had, in like manner, been consigned to the archbishop. See Bennet's Essay, p. 212.

(k) See the present volume, pp. 203. 205.

preservation,

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preservation, and to ascertain, I trust, the occasion, of this general subscription, I have, therefore, thought it due to the history and authority of our Articles, to devote an appendix in this work to such employment. To this I subjoin a vindication of the authority, as well as an illustration of the history, of these Articles, in a Charge delivered to the Clergy, by one of our ablest divines ; at a period, when a refined theology, despising the wisdom of past ages, and whining over the pretended hardship of subscribing to this formulary of faith, supplied the Socinianism of later times with the epithet *absurd* for that, which itself, with equal contempt of truth, pronounced *grievous*.

Before, however, we come to these parts of the volume, there will be found, I should observe, as chronologically preceding them, considerable extracts from the *Confession of Augsburg* ; the whole article from the *Saxon Confession*, “ *De Remissione Peccatorum, et Justificatione* ;” and such passages in our *Liturgy*, as concern the points which the Articles and Homilies exhibit. For the purposes of comparison, and mutual interpretation, these are adduced. And this observation naturally brings me to the design of
briefly

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briefly noticing some doctrinal, as well as historical, circumstances, relating to the subjects of this compilation.

II. In considering the doctrines, which the publick declarations in this volume set forth, we find, that to Cranmer we must look as the principal teacher. One of the sources, from which he drew his materials, was (*l*) “that boast of Germany, and pride of the Reformation, the *Confession of Augsburg*. Prudent, cautious, and steady in his attachments; fearful of extremes, and distrustful of novelties; he principally turned his eye to that favourite quarter, from which the ray of truth had originally proceeded, and where it still shone with undiminished lustre. But to descend into a minute comparison of the two productions, would lead me too far from my purpose; it seems sufficient to notice the fact of a manifest resemblance between them, which in some instances amounts to a direct transcript of whole passages, in others, to the adoption only of leading sentiments and peculiar phraseology.”—I have, therefore, selected parts of those Articles, in this venerable Con-

(*l*) Dr. Laurence, Sermon. p. 39.

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fession, which define (*m*) Original Sin ; which represent the (*n*) sacrifice of Jesus Christ for the sins of all mankind ; which explain (*o*) Justification, and declare that the (*p*) preaching of the Gospel and the Sacraments are the ordinary means, used by God, to infuse the Holy Spirit, who produces Faith ; and that (*q*) Faith produces Good Works, to which we are obliged by the law of God ; that (*r*) Baptism is requisite for salvation, and that little children ought to be baptized ; that (*s*) they are to be condemned, who say, that they can no more sin as long as they live here, or who deny forgiveness to such as truly repent ; that in all men there is (*t*) Free-Will, having the judgement of reason, but not that which is sufficient for those things that belong unto God, without being governed and assisted by the Holy Spirit ; that (*u*) Remission

(*m*) See the present volume, p. 143.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 143, 144.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 144, et seq.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 146.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 147, et seq.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 149.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 150.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 150, 151.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 152, et seq.

of

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of sins is granted to us, and that of unrighteous, we are made righteous, in virtue of the merits of Christ, and in consideration of Faith, which, if sincere, produces many other virtues; and finally, that (x) Good Works are necessary.

From the Saxon Confession, which received the title from Melancthon himself of *Repetitio Augustanæ Confessionis*, and which has avowed its (y) accordance with that of Augsburg, I have thought it necessary, therefore, to make no other citation, than the entire comprehensive Article on Justification; as a proper supplement to what is delivered on the subject, in the Confession of Augsburg; and as illustrating, also, in another respect, what the Church of England has professed and observed. For it has been said, that (z) “according to the words of Dr. Hey, ‘*the Confes-*

(x) See the present volume, p. 156, et seq.

(y) “Hanc commemorationem doctrinæ nunc factam congruere cum Confessione Augustæ exhibitâ, anno 1530, sentimus.” *Conf. Sâx.*

(z) Sermon preached at Leicester, May 20, 1807, at the Visitation of the Rev. Archdeacon Burnaby, by the Hon. and Rev. H. Ryder, A. M. Rector of Lutterworth, [now Lord Bishop of Gloucester,] p. 6.

sion of Augsburg omits, and the Saxon Confession delines,' the subject of Predestination. Dr. Laurence, in his Bampton Lectures, has very fully shewn the remarkable agreement between our Articles and these Confessions, as to all other points. Dr. Hey has accounted for their disagreement in this point, by supposing that the compilers of our Articles thought it proper, 'to declare against the abuses of certain doctrines then prevailing,' which they could not well do without touching upon the doctrines themselves." Now it is not hence to be admitted, that, in these eminent Confessions, there is no reference whatever to the subject of PREDESTINATION; though Dr. Tucker also, dean of Gloucester, seems to have long since led the reader to such a supposition. "In regard to PREDESTINATION; from the year 1547, to the year 1551, a total silence was observed concerning that capital Article: a silence the more remarkable, as the AUGUSTAN CONFESSION, drawn up by MELANCTHON, thirty years before, had observed the same silence." Letter to Dr. Kippis, &c. 1783, p. 101. Dr. Tucker was, therefore, a stranger to the following passage, as it stands in the edition of the Augsburg Confession of 1540; and as it has been

been cited by Dr. Winchester. Yet Dr. Tucker notices the Saxon Confession of 1551, where the words of Melancthon, now given, are found with little variation. After (a) asserting the preaching of repentance and promise of grace, to be universal, and explaining the grounds of the remission of our sins and justification, Melancthon pronounces in the first: (b) “*Non est hic opus disputationibus de PRÆDESTINATIONE aut similibus. Nam promissio est universalis, et nihil detrahit operibus, imò exuscitat ad fidem, et verè bona opera.*” In the second: (c) “*Quia conscientiiis in pœnitentiâ consolationem proponimus, non addimus hic quæstiones de PRÆDESTINATIONE, seu de ELECTIONE; sed deducimus omnes lectores ad Verbum Dei; et jubemus, ut voluntatem Dei ex Verbo ipsius discant, sicut Æternus Pater expressâ voce præcipit, Hunc audite. Non quærant alias speculationes.*” This, with the two (d) concluding paragraphs of the Article, Dr. Tucker has cited, (e) *because the*

(a) Dr. Winchester on the 17th Article, Oxf. 1773, p. 31.

(b) See the present volume, p. 152.

(c) Ibid. p. 183.

(d) Ibid. pp. 183, 184.

(e) Letters to Dr. Kippis, &c. p. 102,

concluding

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“concluding clause of our 17th Article plainly refers to the Saxon ; and because published by Melancthon.” The substance, as we now see, is in the elder Confession. These notices, I humbly conceive, are too important to be buried under the chilling description of a subject neglected, or wholly overpassed. Nay, the spirited admonition on this subject, in the (f) Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, may even be traced, I think, to the passage in the elder Confession. On this subject, also, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the publick determinations of the electorate of Saxony, I may add, are (g) ample and perspicuous. It

was

(f) See the present volume, p. 33.

(g) Articuli Visitatorii anno Christi, M.D.XCII. in Electoratu et Prov. Sup. Saxonizæ publicati, &c. Semleri Appar. ad Libros Symbolicos Eccl. Lutheranzæ, 1775, p. 437.

“ART. IV.

“DE PRÆDESTINATIONE ET ÆTERNA PROVIDENTIA DEI.

“*Pura et vera doctrinastrarum Ecclesiarum de hoc Articulo.*

“I. Quòd Christus pro omnibus hominibus mortuus sit, et ceu Agnus Dei totius mundi peccata sustulerit.

“II. Quòd Deus neminem ad condemnationem conderit,

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was then, in other parts, as in England, the food of controversy ; and was considered one of (*h*) the three great causes of discord in the Reformed Churches. Accordingly it here be-

derit, sed velit, ut omnes homines salvi fiant et ad agnitionem veritatis perveniant ; propterea omnibus mandat, ut Filium suum Christum in Evangelio audiant, et per hunc auditum promittit virtutem et operationem Spiritûs Sancti ad conversionem et salutem.

“ III. Quòd multi homines propriâ culpâ pereant ; alii qui Evangelium de Christo nolunt audire ; alii, qui iterum excidunt de gratiâ, sive per errores contra fundamentum, sive per peccata contra conscientiam.

“ IV. Quòd omnes peccatores, pœnitentiam agentes, in gratiam recipiantur, et nemo excludatur, etsi peccata ejus rubeant ut sanguis ; quandoquidem Dei misericordia major est quàm peccata totius mundi, et Deus omnium suorum operum miseretur.”

(*h*) *Ratio ineundæ Concordiæ inter Ecclesias Reformatas.* 4to. 1579. No place where printed, nor person by whom printed, is named. It opens thus : “ Brevis et dilucida declaratio, quâ ratione controversiæ, quæ nunc sunt inter ecclesias Reformatæ Religionis, componi et fieri possint. C. Q. D. A. nobili viro authore.—Inter ecclesias evangelicas præcipuæ controversiæ hæ sunt. (1.) De Cœnâ Domini. (2.) *De Prædestinatione seu Providentiâ Dei.* (3.) Et de personâ Christi.” Some judicious remarks are offered on the subject of Predestination.

came

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came a matter of publick discussion, at the (i) beginning of the next century, in the presence of the king, who was (k) well satisfied with the authority of the express Article on the subject, and assented to the argument of him who referred to that authority. (l) “ *Concerning falling from Grace*, the bishop of London tooke occasion to signifie to his majestie, how very many in these dayes, neglecting holinesse of life, presumed too much of persisting in Grace, laying all their religion vpon *Predestination*, ‘ *If I shall bee saved, I shall be saved* :’ which hee termed a (m) desperate doctrine, shewing it to bee contrarie to good diuinitie, and the true doctrine of *Predestination*, whereein we should reason rather *ascendendo*, than *deseendendo*, thus ; ‘ *I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour ; I follow my vocation, &c. therefore I trust that God hath elected me, and predes-*

(i) Conference at Hampton Court, Jan. 1603-4.

(k) Ibid. Dr. Barlow’s edit. 1604, p. 30.

(l) Ibid. p. 29.

(m) Archbishop Laud, in his Answer to Lord Say’s Speech upon the Liturgy, has recorded, very minutely, some horrible exemplifications of this desperate doctrine. Works, ed. Wharton, Vol. I. p. 503.

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tinated me to salvation :' not thus, which is the usual course of argument, '*God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore, though I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned ; for whom he once loveth, he loveth to the end.*' Whereupon hee shewed his majestie out of the next Article, what was the doctrine of the Church of England touching Predestination, in the verie last paragraph : '*We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture ; and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.*' "

The authority of this Article, together with other like passages in our Catechism and Homilies, it (n) has been well observed, constrained our divines, who were at the Synod of Dort, a few years afterwards, to deliver, in their resolutions concerning a point there debated, the following theses. One of these persons, it may be remarked, had before (o) " taxed in a Latin

(n) Plaifere's Appendix to the Gospel, Camb. edit. 1719, p. 201.

(o) Hales's Letter from the Synod of Dort to Sir D. Carleton, Nov, 1618, p. 12,

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sermon, preached in the synod-house, the divines for presuming too far in prying into the judgments of God ; and so came to reprove *the curious disputes which our age hath made concerning Predestination.*" Their theses, or propositions were as follow.

(p) " 1. *Deus, lapsi humani generis misertus, misit Filium suum, qui seipsum dedit pretium Redemptionis pro peccatis totius mundi.* Which proposition is equipollent to the express Article of the Church of England, set forth by authority, anno. 1562, *Oblatio Christi, &c. Art. xxxi.* Which also is delivered, totidem verbis, in the Consecratory Prayer, before the receiving of the holy Eucharist, in the Book of Common Prayer.

" 2. *In hoc merito mortis Christi fundatur universale promissum evangelicum, juxta quod omnes, in Christum credentes, remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam reipsâ consequantur.*

" According to these two last propositions, we do hold, that our Blessed Saviour, by God's appointment, did offer up himself to the Blessed

(p) Hales's Letter from the Synod of Dort to Sir D. Carleton, Nov. 1618, p. 187.

Trinity,

Trinity, for the redemption of mankind ; and, by this oblation, once made, did found, confirm, and ratifie the evangelical covenant, which may, and ought to be preached seriously to all mankind, without exception. And, moreover, we hold this ensuing proposition, which we also have exhibited, and which was in like sort approved as the rest.

“ 3. *In ecclesiâ uti juxta hoc promissum Evangelii salus omnibus offertur, ea est administratio gratiæ suæ quæ sufficit ad convincendos omnes impenitentes, et incredulos, quod suâ culpâ voluntariâ et vel neglectu vel contemptu Evangelii perierint, et beneficia oblata amiserint.* And according to this we hold, that there are sundry *initial preparations*, tending to conversion, merited by Christ, and dispensed in the preaching of the Gospel, and wrought by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of many that never attain to true regeneration or justification ; such are *illuminatio, et notitia dogmatum fidei, fides dogmatica, sensus peccati, timor pænæ, cogitatio de liberatione, spes veniæ, &c.* An evident example, whereof, may be seen in them, that sin against the Holy Ghost, *Heb. vi.* and *x.* and, consequently,

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consequently, we hold, that the whole merit of Christ is not confined to the elect only, as some here do hold, and was held in Colloq. Hag. by the Contra-Remonstrants."

(*q*) These points are maintained by them, as the undoubted doctrine of Scripture, and most consonant to antiquity, fathers, and councils; and as the assertions of our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy. And they are firmly to be maintained; (*r*) "otherwise," again to use their words, "we cannot see what ground God's ministers have seriously to *exhort* and *invite all to repentance*, and belief in Christ, according to the mandate and promise of the Gospel."

The dispute in this country was still continued. Charles the first indeed commanded (*s*) "that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures." But as his power declined, the revision of our Ar-

(*q*) Hales's Letter from the Synod of Dort to Sir D. Carleton, Nov. 1618, p. 188.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 188.

(*s*) Declaration of King Charles I. first prefixed to the edit. of the Articles, in 1628.

ticles in respect to this subject was (*t*) publicly proposed. When that power was no more, triumphant schism in (*u*) her confession of faith made "God's eternal decree" the third chapter of

(*t*) "Opus reformationis imprimis promovebitur, si, ad exemplum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum extra Angliam, confessio fidei paulò plenior et explicatio edatur, præcipuè super articulis de PRÆDESTINATIONE, de GRATIA, de Descensu Christi ad inferos, aliisque qui, hactenus parum appositè et minus dilucidè concepti, adversariis ansam dederunt ad suam mentem flectendi quicquid in speciem diversos sensus admittit." Consilium de Reformandâ Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ à Christiano Alethocrito suggestum Amplissimo Cœtui, autoritate augustissimi Consessûs Regis et Regni Ordinum indicto, ad consultandum de rebus gravissimis in Religione. 4to. 1643. p. 40.

(*u*) Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, concerning a Confession of Faith, presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament. I think it curious to state, that a certain number of copies were in Dec. 1646, ordered to be printed for the use of the members of both Houses and of the Assembly, and that no person should presume to reprint, divulge, or publish the said Advice, or any part of it, till further order be taken herein by both or either of the Houses of Parliament. It came forth in 1647, having, what the preceding copy wanted, "the quotations and texts of Scripture annexed" in the margins. See p. 6, and seq. See also the Decl. of the Congregational Churches at the Savoy, agreed to in 1658, publ. in 1659, p. 7, et seq.

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her labours; in which the moderation of the real Church of England will in vain be sought. Predestination is not there defined, as the venerable reformers in Edward the sixth's time have defined it. Predestination is not there interpreted, so as not to exclude any person whatsoever from the benefits of the redemption effected by Christ. Predestination there denies universal redemption; and sullenly as well as unwarrantably supposes an exclusion by an absolute, unconditional, and irreversible decree of God, subsisting from all eternity.

The doctrine of **UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION** is the constant theme of the Church of England. Calvin himself shall here corroborate this testimony of her rejoicing; and Cranmer shall be shewn to have been pleased with, and even to have almost literally adopted, the corroboration. Prefixed to the New Testament in French, (*w*) published in 1535, is a preface by Calvin; in which he thus speaks of the coming and office of the Messiah: " Ille, tot retrò sæculis exoptatissimus; atque

(*w*) The whole Bible was also published in French, in the translation of which Calvin is said to have had a considerable share. It is known by the names of the *Olivetan* and of the *Protestants Bible*.

idem

idem illa omnia cumulatè præstitit, quæ erant ad OMNIUM redemptionem necessaria. Neque verò intra unum Israellem tantum illud beneficium stetit, cùm potius ad UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS usque porrigendum esset : Quia per unum Christum UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS reconciliandum erat Deo, uti his Novi Fœderis tabulis continetur et amplissimè demonstratur." Again : " Ad istam hæreditatem (regni paterni scilicet) VOCAMUR OMNES SINE PERSONARUM ACCEPTIONE, *Masculi, Fæminæ, Summi, Infimi, Heri, Servi, Magistri, Discipuli, Doctores, Idiotæ, Judæi, Græci, Galli, Romani.* NEMO HINC EXCLUDITUR, qui modò Christum, qualis offertur à Patre in salutem omnium, admittat, et admissum complectatur." These opinions of Calvin in 1535, Dr. Winchester (x) has judiciously observed, might, upon reflection, have taught him more moderation towards those, who differed from his later system. Let us now hear Cranmer fifteen years after him. (y) " Almighty God, without respect of person,

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(x) Dissert. on the 17th Art. p. 16.

(y) Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, &c. made by the most reverende father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, &c. 1550. fol. 114.

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accepteth the oblation and sacrifice of *priest and lay person, of kyng and subject, of maister and servaunt, of man and woman, of yonge and olde, yea of English, French, Scot, Greek, Latine, Jewe, and Gentile* ; of every man according to his faithful and obedient heart unto him, and that through the sacrifice propitiatory of Jesu Christ."

To obtain redemption, however, we must exert our own powers. Hence our doctrine of **FREE-WILL**. We receive indeed all our powers from God, and always stand in need of his aid for the performance of our duty. And though we are not sufficient, as of ourselves, to help ourselves, our weakness will be made strength by the **GRACE** of God disposing us to begin, and enabling us to finish, the work of our salvation. Our formulary of faith here rejects not the use and effect of our natural powers, as is plain by the words (*z*) *working with us* ; nor restrains the influence of divine **GRACE** to any particular persons. (*a*) "*Homo solus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, hoc est, mente LIBEROQUE ARBITRIO præditus, quod funda-*

(*z*) Present Article, 10. See also this vol. p. 122.

(*a*) Grotius de Satisfact.

mentum est dominationis ipsius in cæteras creaturas. Non potest enim rerum aliarum esse dominus, *qui suarum actionum dominus non sit.*" It is impossible to offer a more valuable commentary on the fine description of FREE-WILL in the (b) present volume, than the following. (c) "I wish there had been no declining from it, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. Here is no Free-Will or spiritual good without Grace. Here is no Grace so prepotent but it may be disobeyed. Here is enough for the praise of God's Grace, and for convincing of man's ingratitude.

"This book is alleged by Dr. Ward, in his determination *concerning the certainty' of the justification of all baptized infants*, as agreeing with the doctrine of our Liturgy in the Baptism of Infants, and shewing that our Reformers had a respect to the doctrine lately before published."

This book, too, (as the earliest Articles, and every other document in this collection, more or less do,) specially defines Justification, Faith, and Works; and claims equal attention with the three discourses in the Book of Homilies;

(b) P. 20, et seq.

(c) Plaifere, App. to the Gosp. ut supr. p. 123.

1 *Historical and Critical Introduction.*

(d) "wherein, if any where so briefly," it has been rightly said, "a man may meet with the true *Medulla Patrum* in those points. And it were to be wished, that all Homilies, that have been since set forth, had been but so divine and catholick, without any tincture or leven of affected composition." While these Homilies leave no subject untouched, which any parts of the publick declarations, here given, notice; they indeed particularly shew, that our Reformers (e) "supposed not only the possibility of the existence of Good Works prior to our Justification, which a Calvinist can never do, consistently with his genuine principles; but that also they required the *actual pre-existence* of them, as necessary conditions, though they excluded them as meritorious causes." This is the argument of dean Tucker, supported by a reference to the first of these Homilies, where (f) "the true understanding of this doctrine" is perspicuously laid down, and which he desires, (an injunction that cannot be

(d) Dr. Martin, late Dean of Ely, his opinion concerning the difference between the Church of England and Geneva &c. 12mo. 1662, p. 65.

(e) Letters to Dr. Kippis, p. 111.

(f) See the whole passage in this volume, p. 58—60.

too often urged,) may be read with attention. Then he says, when the reformers “ come to make a renunciation of merit, they equally renounce the supposed merit of pre-existent faith with that of pre-existent works. Nay, they call faith itself a virtue, and a good work ; both which it certainly is : and the opposition which they intended was not between faith and works, (which is the Calvinistical system,) but between Christ and works ; that is, they asserted that there was no human merit of any kind, either of congruity or condignity, to obtain justification from the hands of God ; but that Christ alone was the meritorious cause. Wherefore, when they admit faith again as the instrument of justification, (after having excluded it before under the notion of a meritorious cause,) they admit it as a kind of protest against merit: *So that our faith in Christ saith unto us thus, It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only, and to him only I send you for that purpose ; forsaking therein (that is, renouncing the pretended merit of) all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and putting only your trust in Christ.*”

The design of Cranmer had in his own, as it has in later times, been mistaken and misrepresented ;

sented; as if he had intended to exclude or not to admit the necessity of Good Works. (*g*) "This doctrine of Good Works," the prelate who in 1576 ascribes these Homilies to Cranmer has said, "I have specified and collected out of the holy prophets and apostles; lest some might report of us, that we are very copious in the doctrine of Justification by Faith, but bare and barren in the other part of Christian doctrine concerning Good Works: and principally lest sycophants might cavil, that we are despisers, and enemies to Good Works. The apostles of Christ the Lord, and namely St. Paul the doctour of the Gentiles, and vessel of election, have notably set out God's Grace; and very often inculcate, that men are justified before God by Faith, and not by the Law, by Grace, and not by Works. And yet, notwithstanding, they urge most earnestly the works of Faith." The Jesuit Campian, however, was absurd enough to state, (*h*) about this time, as one of the monstrous opinions maintained by

(*g*) The Christian Manuell, by John Woolton, &c. sign. E. vii. b.

(*h*) Rationes decem Obl. Certam. in Caus. Fidei, &c. first privately printed in 1581. His words are, "Faxo, norint isti suorum axiomata.—*Opera nostra Deus nequaquam curat, &c.*" Ed. Aug. Trev. 1583. p. 58. p. 64.

the

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the Church of England, *that God doth not regard our works* ; and, by way of confirming his statement, appealed to a (i) passage in the apology of bishop Jewel, which proves the very reverse. We trace this kind of slander pursuing as bold a course, in some of our own pulpits, and to the most fatal purposes, throughout the progress of puritanism. (k) "*Faith only justifieth*, saith the vulgar preacher. Then saith the Solifidian and loose liver, *What need I care how I live? no sin can hurt me, so long as I believe.*—Thy preacher, and thou, are both in an error: because God's word no where teacheth this, but the contrary. 'Ye see,' saith St. James, 'how a man is justified by Works, and not by Faith only.' Thou wilt say, the Fathers taught this doctrine, and our own Church too. But how? and in what sense? To shut out Works before Faith be come, and to acknowledge Faith to be the only beginning in the preparation of our Justification. But our young preachers and hearers

(i) "*Quamvis autem dicamus, &c.*" See the whole passage in this volume, p. 139.

(k) *Five Pious and Learned Discourses*, by R. Shelford. Camb. 1635. p. 41.

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shut up all in Faith only, and stay at the beginning; and thus, *verbo tenus*, they prove but half Christians. Thine own conscience will preach better to thee; for that will exclude no virtue, and admit no vice." Comparing the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Articles, with each other, and with the elder declarations, it will be found, indeed, that our Church, (*l*) "in teaching Justification by Faith only, doth not teach us, that we need no more to carry us to heaven, but only a sanguine belief that we shall come there; and may thenceforth live as we list, without holiness, or a '*godly, righteous, and sober life* ; for she makes *this* necessary to bring us to heaven, as well as Faith, or Justification itself. And a pretence of Faith without this, she doth not own for Faith, but Presumption. She owns none for *a true and lively Faith*, but what is attended herewith as the *necessary fruit* thereof." A sound distinction upon this point, made by a learned and vigilant prelate of our own times, contains a cau-

5 (*l*) The Necessity of Regeneration, in two Sermons to the University of Oxford, by John Wallis, D.D. Professor of Geometry, &c. 1682. p. 40.

tion never to be overlooked. (m) "I cannot help thinking, that some misconception and perversion of the Scripture doctrine of salvation may have arisen from an ambiguity in the words *saved by Faith without Works*, arising from the different meanings which may be annexed to them accordingly as they are spoken or written. If we could have been saved by our own Good Works, Christ would have died in vain. But as we cannot be saved *by Works*, God has mercifully appointed, that we shall be saved *by Faith, without Works*. But, *to be saved by Faith, without Works*, that is, *per Fidem, nullo Operum adjumento*, has a very different meaning from being *saved by Faith without Works*, that is, *per Fidem infructuosam*. In the first sense, *without works* is the attribute of the verb; in the second, it is the attribute of the noun. The difference is still more striking in Greek. We are saved *δια πίστεως, ἀνευ ἔργων*, but not *δια πίστεως τῆς ἀνευ ἔργων*. For, we are saved by Faith—without Works; but not by *the Faith* which is without Works. The former sense, by admitting that we are saved not by Works, (for

(m) Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, by Shute, Bishop of Durham, in July 1801. p. 6.

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our best works are far short of our duty,) but by an atonement of infinitely greater value, does not exclude the necessity of Good Works; but the latter supposes the validity of a Faith unproductive of Good Works, *a sense contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture.*"

For the comparison with the Articles, which expressly define Baptism and Original Sin, abundance of observation is ministered both in the Necessary Erudition and in the Homilies. In the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, that divine promise, on which our Church relies as the sure and only ground of confidence, in regard to the regeneration and election of every infant in Baptism, is (n) particularly illustrated. Such was the belief expressed, at the same time, in the same office, by another of the reformed Churches. (o) "O Almighty God, which in commanding us

(n) "Plures item ab aliis, &c." See the whole passage in this volume pp. 114, 115. ending with "proveniunt."

(o) A Faithful and moost Godlye Treatyse, &c. Whereunto the order that the Church and Congregation of Denmarke doth use at the receivinge of Baptisme, &c. is added. Myles Coverdale. Impr. at Lond. by J. Day and W. Seres. No date. sign. F. 1. b. The treatise, to which this addition is made, is Calvin's upon the Lord's Supper, translated.

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to pray hast assured us, that we, believing steadfastly in thy promise, shall have all that we desire, specially concerning the soul, wherein we seek thy glory, and wealth of our neighbours; our humble petition to thee, O most dear Father, is, that forasmuch as this child is not without Original Sin, thou wilt consider thine own mercy, and *according to thy promise*, send this child thy good Spirit, that in thy sight it be not counted among the children of wrath, but of light and grace, and become a member of the undefiled Church, spoused to Christ, thy dear Son, in faith and love unfeigned." And thus to those who demand, where God has obliged himself *by any promise* to apply his Spirit to the soul in a gracious operation, when the baptismal water is applied to the body, these collations will furnish the substance of a reply, which may be supported by the Book of God. The demand has been made; and the *promise*, annexed to Baptism, (*p*) "is to be found in several places of Scripture: I shall name but three, *Acts* xxii. 16. where Ananias advises St. Paul, in order to his thorough con-

(*p*) The Practice of the Orthodox Church of England in baptizing Infants, &c. 1709. p. 57.

version

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version, 'to arise and be baptized, and wash away his sins,' &c. which implies that Almighty God does derive pardoning and regenerating Grace to us by Baptism: *St. John* iii. 5. 'Except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;' where our Lord expresses Christian Baptism by the two principal parts, the Spirit and the water, of which this sacrament consists; and likewise implies, that both together are the means which he has ordained to work our conversion, and procure our admission into his kingdom and glory: and *Tit.* iii. 5. 'According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;' by which phrases the apostle means Christian Baptism, St. Paul putting the two chief parts, washing and renewing, for the whole of it, and says, both together accomplish salvation, if we ourselves by our own wilful sins do not hinder it. Now is not the *Scripture's* mentioning the Spirit to concur with the water in Baptism tantamount to a PROMISE, that in the due use thereof the Holy Spirit shall concur with it?—These three texts prove that Baptism is more than a mere initiating sign to the baptized parties, (which is all that some of our opposers will allow it,) even that

that it is a seal too of the pardon of their sins, and the only extraordinary means God has appointed for their conversion and salvation."

That the import of the Article of Original Sin, and the assertion in it, upon the authority of an apostle, of *concupiscence having the nature of sin*, may duly be compared with the Article of Free-Will, in the Necessary Erudition, and the later declarations which mention the subject; I select one more cautionary remark. (q) "No fair interpreter can suppose, that either the apostle, or the compilers of the Articles, meant, that the natural affections and appetites, directed to their proper objects, and moving in their proper sphere, must necessarily raise in us sinful desires, by which alone they become sinful in themselves. Concupiscence begets *evil desires*; and evil desires must proceed from an *evil principle*. We must interpret the Article, as we do the tenth Commandment.—And the former part of the Article, which relates to the original corruption of

(q) Charge relative to the Articles of the Church of England, delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Worcester, in the year 1772, by J. Tottie, Archdeacon of Worcester, and Canon of Christ Church College, Oxford, p. 18.

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man as the cause of evil concupiscence, must be interpreted by the same rule. It asserts the fallen state of man, and the great depravation of every man's nature, that is descended from Adam, *inclining him to evil*; insomuch that the flesh is represented to be *always* lusting against the spirit, and every man is said to have a natural propensity to evil, which, working evil deservedly subjects him to the divine wrath and condemnation. Take this proposition, as all propositions *morally universal* are to be taken; as meaning that a natural principle of evil still subsists in *all* men, and that evil thoughts and desires do *frequently* arise in the hearts of the best men, and *almost perpetually* in the hearts of bad ones; and our own consciousness and experience will convince us of the truth of it. And, indeed, was it not for the intervention of the Divine Grace, more general and powerful, perhaps, than we are aware of, the effects of this depravation might be as bad as they were in the antediluvian world, when *every imagination of the thoughts of the heart of man were only evil continually*; so evil, as to bring down a dreadful vengeance upon the whole world."

These preliminary observations, it is hoped,
may

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may assist a fair and patient comparison of the several declarations of our Reformers, in order to their mutual illustration. To such as require complete information on any, or all, of the points, here considered, the bishop of Lincoln's perspicuous Refutation of Calvinism, and Dr. Laurence's successful Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Church of England, which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical, amply afford it. From the perusal of these, the notion of bringing together the venerable documents, which therein are dispersedly, and in part, referred to, originated in my mind; and to them I most gratefully acknowledge particular obligation. That no reader might be repelled by the ancient orthography, (which a single page of the original editions will abundantly shew to be quite unsettled,) I have given the texts of these documents in modern spelling; but have not omitted a single word. An explanatory note has been sometimes necessary; together with a statement of some various readings, and the rectification of some mistaken dates.

At a time when hostility against the national faith is waged, not only by open enemies, but also by pretended friends; and when attempts to
impose

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impose false senses upon the publick declarations of that faith, in order to countenance and propagate error, continue to be made ; any method, however humble, which may tend to weaken this hostility, and to expose these attempts, cannot, if conducted with truth, but be of use. With this feeling I have made the present compilation, and commend it to the theological inquirer.

DOCTRINES OF OUR REFORMERS

WHICH ARE THE

GROUNDWORK

OF CERTAIN OF THE

THIRTY NINE ARTICLES

OF

Religion.



ORIGINAL SIN, FREE-WILL, GRACE, REGENERATION,
JUSTIFICATION, FAITH, GOOD WORKS, AND UNI-
VERSAL REDEMPTION, AS MAINTAINED IN THOSE
DECLARATIONS OF OUR REFORMERS, WHICH ARE
THE GROUNDWORK OF THE ARTICLES OF OUR
ESTABLISHED CHURCH UPON THOSE SUBJECTS.

(a) FROM THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION,
edit. 1536.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

AS touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, we
(b) *will* that all bishops and preachers shall in-
struct and teach (c) *our* people committed (d) *by*
us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and
must of necessity believe certainly all those things,

(a) Articles devised by the King's Highness Majesty, to
stablish christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid
contentious opinions, &c. 4to. 1536. Collated with the Arti-
cles as delivered in the Institution of a Christian Man, 4to.
1537; and with the Copy of the King's Articles, printed by
Bishop Burnet, in the Addenda to the first Volume of his His-
tory of the Reformation, from the MS. of the Cotton Collection,
numbered Cleop. E. 5. Wilkins has printed the Articles from
the same MS. in his Concil. Magna.

(b) Instit. *think it convenient.*

(c) Instit. *the.*

(d) Instit. *by us*, omitted.

B

which

2 *Doctrines of our Reformers which are*

which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received, and used, in the Sacrament of Baptism; (e) *that is to say*, that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained, in the New Testament, (f) *by our Saviour Jesus Christ*, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life; according to the saying of (g) *Christ: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cælorum*; that is to say, *No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost.*

Item, that it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason; that by Baptism they shall have remission of (h) *sins*,

(e) *Instit. and first.*

(f) *Instit. ordained by God in the New Testament.*

(g) *Instit. our Saviour Jesus Christ.* The Latin, which follows above, is omitted in the Institution; and the reading is, *where he sayth, that no man, &c.* In Bishop Burnet's copy, the English interpretation is omitted. This is the case throughout; the Institution giving only the English citations, Bishop Burnet only the Latin. The old printed copies gave the English for the benefit of the common people. Fuller gives the English citations only in his copy of these Articles, which he says he transcribed from the Acts of the Convocation. Ch. Hist. B. 5. p. 213.

(h) *Instit. all their sins, the grace and favour of God, and everlasting life.*

and

and the grace and favour of God ; according to (i) the saying of (k) Christ : *Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit* ; that is to say, *who-soever believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.*

Item, the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto (l) *this* Sacrament of Baptism pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children ; and they ought therefore, and must needs be, baptized : And that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God ; insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, (m) and (n) else not.

Item,

(i) Burnet, *that*.

(k) The Institution rightly reads *Christ*. The Art. 1536, and Burnet, *St. John*.

(l) Burnet, *the*.

(m) Burnet, *or*.

✓ (n) The reformers afterwards thought differently, and omitted this expression. " Infants, being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by Christ's sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." Homily of Salvation, P. I. Ascribed to Archbishop Cranmer. See the Introduction

4 *Doctrines of our Reformers which are*

Item, that infants must needs be christened, because they be born in Original Sin; which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, (which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.)

to this compilation. “ *Illorum etiam impia videri debet superstitio, qui Dei Gratiam, et Spiritum Sanctum, tantoperè cum Sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut planè affirment nullum Christianorum infantem æternam salutem esse consequuturum, qui prius à morte fuerit occupatus quàm ad Baptismum adduci potuerit: quod longè secus habere judicamus.*” Ref. Leg. Eccl. De Hær. Cap. 18. “ It is certain by God’s word, that children, which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.” Rubr. Publ. Baptism of Infants. This passage in the Rubrick, a learned divine has observed, “ is not original, but borrowed from a *work of popular instruction*, composed in the reign of Henry:” [that is, the Institution of a Christian Man, which copies the Article before us:] “ While the omission of the latter part of the clause, [*and else not*, Art. of Rel. 1536, and Inst. of a Christ. Man. 1537,] in our Liturgy, evidently points out the improvement in the creed of our Reformers, the insertion of the short sentence prefixed, *it is certain by God’s word*, seems no less convincingly to prove that they speak only of that, which the lips of truth have revealed, and placed beyond conjecture, the covenanted mercy of Almighty God.” Dr. Laurence, Sermon. Bampton. Lect. p. 168.

Item,

Item, that children or men, once baptized, (o) *can ne ought ever* to be baptized again.

Item, that (p) *they* ought (q) *to* repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in (r) *this* behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, that men or children (s) *having the use of reason, and willing and desiring* to be baptized, shall by (t) *the* virtue of that holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto (u) *perfectly* and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, (w) *and* also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith;

(o) *Can ne ought never*, an old form of writing; the first negative, *neither*, being sometimes omitted. In the Saxon language this form is sometimes found. Burnet reads the same. The Institution, *ought never*.

(p) Instit. *al good christen men*.

(q) Instit. *and must*.

(r) Instit. *that*.

(s) Instit. *which* having the use of reason, and *being not christened already, desyre*, &c.

(t) The Inst. and Burnet omit *the*.

(u) Instit. *not only* perfectly, &c.

(w) Instit. *but*.

according

6 *Doctrines of our Reformers which are*

according as (x) it was mentioned in the first Article.

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by (y) *this* said Sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jesus Christ's sake remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated, and made the very children of God; according to the saying of (z) *St. John* and the Apostle *St. Peter*: (a) *Delictorum pœnitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*: that is to say, (b) *Do penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*: and according (c) *also to the*

(x) *Instit.* is mentioned in the *Crede*, called the *Apostels' Crede*. Burnet, after the word *Article* above, reads *before*, or *else not*, omitting the word *first*.

(y) Burnet, *the*.

(z) Burnet inaccurately reads *Christ* and *his* Apostle. The references are to *Matth. iii. Luke iii. Acts ii.*

(a) Burnet omits *Delictorum*. The Institution adds *before* the translation of this passage, *where they say*.

(b) *Instit.* *Do you penance, &c.*

(c) *Instit.* *the saying also.*

saying

saying of St. Paul : Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed, secundum suam misericordiam, saluos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis, et renouationem Spiritûs Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulentè, per Jesum Christum Seruatorem nostrum, ut, justificati illius gratiâ, hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ: that is to say, God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of his mercy by Baptism, and renouation of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured out upon us most plentifully for the love of Jesus Christ our Saviour ; to the intent that we, being justified by his grace, should be made the inheritors of everlasting life according to our hope.

Of Justification.

As touching the order and cause of our Justification, we (d) *will* that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach (e) *our* people, committed (f) *by us* (g) *to* their spiritual charge, that this word Justification signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace

(d) Instit. *think it convenient.*

(e) Instit. *the.*

(f) Instit. *by us,* omitted.

(g) Instit. *unto.*

and

8 *Doctrines of our Reformers which are*

and favour of God ; that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, that sinners attain this Justification by contrition, and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared. Not as though our contrition or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said Justification. For the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesu Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same Justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our Justification ; but also he requireth and commandeth us, that, after we be justified, we must also have Good Works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments. For although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with Justification, yet our Good Works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life. And we, being justified, be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do Good Works,
according

according to the saying of St. Paul, *(h) Debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus; nam si secundum carnem vixerimus, moriemur: sin autem Spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivoemus; etenim quicumque Spiritu Dei ducentur, hi sunt filii Dei:* that is to say, *(i) We be bound not to live according to the flesh and to fleshly appetites: for, if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned: and contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the Spirit, we shall be saved: for whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God.* And Christ saith, *(k) Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata;* that is to say, *If ye will come to heaven, keep the commandments.* And St. Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, *(l) Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt;* that is to say, *Whosoever commit sinful deeds, shall never come to heaven.* Wherefore *(m) we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily*

(h) Rom. viii,

(i) The Latin and English in the Institution and Burnet, as before. See Note, g, p. 2.

(k) St. Matt. xix.

(l) Galat. v.

(m) Instit. *all good christen people must understande and beleve certaynly, that, &c,*

requireth

requireth of us to do Good Works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; (that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again; and such other like motions and virtues.) For Christ saith, (n) *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum*; that is to say, We must not only do outward civil Good Works, but (o) *also we must* have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

(n) St. Matth. v.

(o) Instit. we *must also* have, &c.

(p) FROM ARTICLES OF RELIGION, ENTITLED
QUIDAM DOCTRINÆ CHRISTIANÆ ARTICULI
PRO ECCLESIA ANGLICANA. WITH SOME
NOTES OF THE KING IN THE MARGIN. 1540.

De Justificatione.

DE Justificatione docemus, quòd ea propriè significat remissionem peccatorum, et acceptionem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei; hoc est, veram renovationem in Christo: Et quòd peccatores licet non assequantur hanc Justificationem absque pœnitentiâ et bono ac proposito motu cordis, quem Spiritus efficit, erga Deum et proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ, aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed grâs propter Christum per fidem; cùm credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui suâ morte pro peccatis nostris satisfecit.

Hanc Fidem imputat Deus pro justitiâ coram ipso, *Rom. 3*, and *4*. Fidem verò intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam quæ per dilectionem

v) Strype, Ann. of the Reformation, vol. I. Appendix, No. cxii. p. 301.

operatur. Est enim vera et Christiana Fides de quâ hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, et credulitas doctrinæ Christianæ, dumtaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitiâ, et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, quâ videlicet certò persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et hæc Fides verè justificat, verè est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, et hypocritica; sed necessariò habet spem et charitatem sibi individue conjunctas; ac etiam studium benè vivendi; et benè operatur pro loco et occasione.

Nam Bona Opera ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quòd de impio justum (*q*) faciunt, nec quòd sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa Justificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide Justificatus est, et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat, juxta illud, *Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum cælorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cælis est.* Qui verò hæc Opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram Fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat et vere pœniteat) adsequetur.

(*q*) Strype reads *faciens*, incorrectly.

(r) FROM THE NECESSARY ERUDITION OF A
CHRISTIAN MAN, edit. 1543.

Faith.

FORASMUCH as in this book, which is set forth for the institution and erudition of the common people, the Articles of our Faith have the first place; it is very necessary, before we enter into the declaration of the said Articles, something to entreat of Faith; to the intent that it may be known, what is meant properly by the word Faith, as it is appertaining to a Christian man, who by Faith is partaker of God's benefits by Christ. And although Faith be diversly taken in Scripture, it shall be sufficient to entreat here of two kinds or acceptions of the same.

Faith, in the first acception, is considered as it is a several gift of God by itself distinct from hope and charity; and, so taken, it signifieth a persuasion and belief wrought by God in man's heart, whereby he assenteth, granteth, and taketh for true, not only that God is, (which knowledge is taught and declared by the marvellous works of the

(r) The 4to. edit. sign. B. et. seq.

creation

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creation of the world, as saith St. Paul in the Epistle to the (s) Romans,) but also that all the words and sayings of God, which he revealed and opened in the Scripture, be of most certain truth and infallible verity. And further also, that all those things, which were taught by the apostles, and have been by a whole universal consent of the church of Christ, ever since that time, taught continually and taken always for true, ought to be received, accepted, and kept, as a perfect doctrine apostolick. And this is the first acception of Faith, which man hath of God; wherein man leaneth not to his own natural knowledge, which is by reason, but leaneth to the knowledge attained by Faith; without the which Faith, we be ignorant and blind, and can not understand; according as the prophet Isaiah saith, (t) *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis: Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand.* And this Faith is the beginning, entry, and introduction, unto all Christian religion and godliness. For, as St. Paul saith, (u) *He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder unto them which seek to please him.* And this Faith, although it be the necessary beginning of all righteousness, yet, if it proceed not further to hope and charity, it is

(s) Rom. i.

(t) vii. juxta Sept.

(u) Hebr. xi.

called

called in Scripture a dead Faith; because it is void and destitute of the life and efficacy of charity.

Faith, in the second acception, is considered as it hath hope and charity annexed and joined unto it. And Faith, so taken, signifieth not only the belief and persuasion before-mentioned in the first acception, but also a sure confidence and hope to attain whatsoever God hath promised for Christ's sake, and an hearty love to God, and obedience to his commandments. And this Faith is a lively Faith, and worketh in man a ready submission of his will to God's will. And this is the effectual Faith that worketh by charity, which St. Paul unto the (w) Galatians affirmeth to be of value and strength in Christ Jesu. By this Faith, (x) Abraham, not knowing whither he should go, went out of his country, and dwelt in the land of behest, as in a strange land; looking and trusting for a city founded and builded by Almighty God. By this Faith also, he was ready to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, when he was tempted; in whom he looked for the promise, nothing doubting but that God was able to raise him up again from death. And this wise is Faith taken in the most part of the examples, which be recited of St. Paul in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the

(w) Galat. v.

(x) Hebr. xi.

Hebrews.

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Hebrews. And this Faith every Christian man professeth and covenanteth to keep, when he receiveth the Sacrament of Baptism.

For declaration whereof, it is to be noted, that all promises of God, made to man after the fall of Adam for Christ's sake, be made under this condition ; that man should believe in God, and with the Grace of God, given for Christ, endeavour himself to accomplish God's commandments. The Church, therefore, (intending that man should always have in mind how the promises of God be made upon condition, and without keeping of the condition no man is partaker of God's promises,) hath taught and ordained that men, before they receive Baptism, shall promise and covenant to fulfil the said condition ; and to forsake the devil and the world ; and to serve only God. And of this especial covenant, whereby man bindeth himself to God, he is called in Latin *fidelis*, faithful ; and he that never made the same covenant, or after he hath made it renounceth and refuseth the same, is called among Christian men *infidelis*, unfaithful or heathen. And because God hath made promise and covenant with man, (as is before declared,) which we must most assuredly believe that God will observe and keep, and is ever in his words and promises most true, most just, most constant ; therefore God is called, as he is indeed, faithful to
man,

man, and keepeth and observeth his faith, that is to say, his promise to man, requiring that man should likewise keep his faith and promise towards him.

Now of that which is beforesaid, it is manifest, that Faith, as it is taken in the second acception, is the perfect Faith of a true Christian man, and containeth the obedience of the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. And thus is Faith taken of St. Paul, and in other places of Scripture, where it is said, that we be justified by Faith. In which places men may not think, that we be justified by Faith as it is a several virtue separated from hope and charity, fear of God and repentance; but by it is meant Faith neither only ne alone, but with the foresaid virtues coupled together, containing, as it is afore said, the obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ.

And here is to be noted, that every man that doth offend God, doth not lose his Faith thereby. For they that sin by frailty and sudden motions, (which just men do not avoid,) and be taught therefore of Christ to say in their Pater noster, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*; yet those men, so breaking their promise with God, and slacking in such care and desire as they should have to please God, nevertheless be not accounted to have lost their Faith thereby;

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yea, they also, who after the knowledge of God, fall into sin advisedly, as they that commit murder, adultery, and other abominations, and so fall from Faith as it is taken in the second acception, and be therefore out of the state of grace and favour of God for the time ; yet do not these men fall from Faith as it is taken in the first acception, that is to say, from certain and assured knowledge of God and his doctrine. And therefore the (y) Gospel speaketh of a servant that knoweth the will of his lord, and doth it not. And (z) St. James in his Epistle saith, that Faith may remain without charity. Wherefore a transgression of the law of Almighty God, after Baptism, keepeth still a remorse of conscience, and the light of knowledge by Faith, whereby he seeth the remedies, how to attain a remission of sin ; and by a special gift of further Grace is moved to use the same remedies, and so by Faith maketh the ways ordained to attain remission of sins.

Thus we have shewed two acceptions of Faith, and declared that the Faith of knowledge may remain in him that hath fallen from Faith, after the second acception. But whether there be any special, particular knowledge, which man hath certainly of himself, whereby he may testify to himself, that he

(y) Luc. xii.

(z) Jacob ii.

is

is of the predestinates which shall to the end persevere in their calling, we have not spoken; ne can not in Scripture ne doctors find, that any such faith can be taught or preached. Truth it is, that, in the Sacraments instituted by Christ, we may constantly believe the works of God in them, to our present comfort; and application of his grace and favour, with assurance also, that he will not fail us, if we fall not from him. Wherefore, so continuing in the state of Grace with him, we may believe undoubtedly to be saved. But forasmuch as our own frailty and naughtiness ought ever to be feared in us, it is therefore expedient for us to live in continual watch, and continual fight with our enemies, the devil, the flesh, and the world; and not to presume too much of our perseverance and continuance in the state of Grace, which on our behalf is uncertain and unstable. For although God's promises made in Christ be immutable, yet he maketh them not to us but with condition; so that, his promise standing, we may yet fail of the promise, because we keep not our promise. And therefore if we assuredly reckon upon the state of our felicity, as grounded upon God's promise; and do not therewith remember, that no man shall be crowned, unless he lawfully fight; we shall triumph before the victory, and so look in vain for that which is not otherwise pro-

mised but under a condition. And this every Christian man must assuredly believe.

(a) The Article of Free-Will.

The commandments and threatenings of Almighty God in Scripture, whereby man is called upon, and put in remembrance, what God would have him to do, most evidently do express and declare, that man hath Free-Will also now after the fall of our first father Adam; as plainly appeareth in these places following: *(b) Be not overcome of evil. Neglect not the grace that is in thee. Love not the world, &c. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* Which, undoubtedly, should be said in vain, unless there were some faculty or power left in man, whereby he may, by the help and grace of God, (if he will receive it when it is offered unto him,) understand his commandments, and freely consent and obey unto them. Which thing, of the catholick fathers, is called Free-Will; which if we will describe, we may call it conveniently in all men, *A certain power of the will joined with reason, whereby a*

(a) Necess. Erudit. sign. c. ii. et seq.

(b) Rom. xii. 1 Tim. iv. 1 John ii. St. Matt. xix.

reasonable creature, without constraint in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but it willeth not that good which is acceptable to God, except it be holpen with grace; but that which is ill, it willeth of itself: And therefore other men defined Free-Will in this wise: Free-Will is a power of reason and will, by which good is chosen by the assistance of grace, or evil is chosen without the assistance of the same.

Howbeit the state and condition of Free-Will was otherwise in our first parents, before they sinned, than it was either in them, or in their posterity, after they had sinned. For our first parents, Adam and Eve, until they wounded and overthrew themselves by sin, had so in possession the said power of Free-Will, by the most liberal gift and grace of God their Maker, that not only they might eschew all manner of sin, but also know God, and love him, and fulfil all things appertaining to their felicity and wealth. For they were made righteous, and to the image and similitude of God, having power of Free-Will (as Chrysostome saith) to obey or disobey: so that by obedience they might live, and by disobedience they should worthily deserve to die. For the wise man affirmeth, that the state of them was of that sort in the beginning, saying thus: (c) *God in the beginning did create man,*

(c) *Ecclus. xv.*

and

and left him in the hands of his own counsel: he gave unto him his precepts and commandments, saying, If thou wilt keep the commandments, they shall preserve thee; He hath set afore thee fire and water; put forth thy hands to whether thou wilt. Before man is life and death, good and evil; what him liketh, that shall he have. From this most happy estate our first parents falling by disobedience, most grievously hurted themselves and their posterity. For, besides many other evils that came by the transgression, the high power of man's reason and Freedom of Will were wounded and corrupted; and all men thereby brought into such blindness and infirmity, that they cannot eschew sin, except they be illumined and made free by an especial Grace, that is to say, by a supernatural help and working of the Holy Ghost; which although the goodness of God offereth to all men, yet they only enjoy it, which by their Free-Will do accept and embrace the same. Nor they also, that be holpen by the said Grace, can accomplish and perform things that be for their wealth but with much labour and endeavour; so great is in our nature the corruption of the first sin, and the heavy burden bearing us down to evil. For, truly, albeit the light of reason doth abide, yet it is much darkened; and with much difficulty doth discern things that be inferior, and pertain to this present life;

life: but to understand and perceive things that be spiritual, and pertain to the everlasting life, it is of itself unable. And so likewise although there remain a certain Freedom of Will in those things which do pertain unto the desires and works of this present life, yet to perform spiritual and heavenly things Free-Will of itself is insufficient: and therefore the power of man's Free-Will, being thus wounded and decayed, hath need of a physician to heal it, and a help to repair it; that it may receive light and strength, whereby it may see, and have power to do, those godly and spiritual things, which, before the fall of Adam, it was able, and might have done.

To this blindness and infirmity of man's nature, proceeding of Original Sin, the prophet David had regard, when he *(d)* desired *his eyes to be lightened of Almighty God, that he might consider the marvellous things that be in his law.* And also the prophet Jeremy, saying, *(e)* *Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be made whole.* Saint Augustine also plainly declareth the same, saying, *We conclude that Free-Will is in man after his fall; which thing whoso denieth, is not a catholick man: but in spiritual desires, and works to please God, it is so weak and feeble that it cannot either begin or per-*

(d) Psalm cxix.

(e) Jer. xvii.

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form them, unless by the grace and help of God it be prevented and holpen. And hereby it appeareth, that man's strength and will in all things, which be healthful to the soul and shall please God, hath need of Grace of the Holy Ghost; by which such spiritual things be inspired to men, and strength and constancy given to perform them, if men do not wilfully refuse the said Grace offered unto them.

And, likewise, as many things be in the Scripture, which do shew Free-Will to be in man; so there be no fewer places in Scripture, which do declare the Grace of God to be so necessary, that if by it Free-Will be not prevented and holpen, it can neither do nor will any thing good and godly. Of which sort be these Scriptures following: *(f) Without me ye can do nothing. No man cometh to me, except it be given him of my Father. We be not sufficient of ourselves, as of ourselves, to think any good thing.* According unto which Scriptures, and such other like, it followeth, that Free-Will, before it may will or think any godly thing, must be holpen by the Grace of Christ, and by his Spirit be prevented and inspired, that it may be able thereto; and, being so made able, may from thenceforth work together with Grace; and by the same sustained, holpen, and maintained, may do and ac-

(f) St. John xv. St. John vi. 2 Cor. iii.

compleish

compish Good Works, and avoid sin, and persevere also and encrease in Grace. It is surely of the Grace of God only, that first we be inspired and moved to any good thing; but to resist temptations, and to persist in goodness and go forward, it is both of the Grace of God, and of our Free-Will and endeavour. And finally, after we have persevered to the end, to be crowned with glory therefore, is the gift and mercy of God; who, of his bountiful goodness, hath ordained that reward to be given, after this life, according to such good works as be done in this life by his Grace.

Therefore men ought, with much diligence and gratitude of mind, to consider and regard the inspirations and wholesome motions of the Holy Ghost; and to embrace the Grace of God, which is offered unto them in Christ, and moveth them to good things; and furthermore to go about by all means to shew themselves such, as unto whom the Grace of God is not given in vain. And when they do feel, through their own infirmity, they be not able to do that they desire; then they ought earnestly, and with a fervent devotion and stedfast faith, to ask of him which gave the beginning; that he would vouchsafe to perform it: which thing God will undoubtedly grant, according to his promise, to such as persevere in calling upon him. For he is naturally good, and willeth all men to be saved, and
careth

careth for them, and provideth all things by which they may be saved, except by their own malice they will be evil, and so by righteous judgement of God perish and be lost. For, truly, men be to themselves the authors of sin and damnation. God is neither author of sin, nor the cause of damnation. And yet doth he most righteously damn those men, that do with vices corrupt their nature, which he made good; and do abuse the same to evil desires against his most holy will. Wherefore men be to be warned, that they do not impute to God their vice, or their damnation; but to themselves, which by Free-Will, have abused the Grace and benefits of God.

All men be also to be monished, and chiefly preachers, that, in this high matter, they, looking on both sides, so attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the Grace of God, that they take away thereby Free-Will; nor, on the other side, so extol Free-Will, that injury be done to the Grace of God.

(g) The Article of Justification.

For the more clear understanding of this article following, it is to be noted, that all men after the

(g) Necess. Euridit. sign. d. et seq.

fall

fall of Adam, naturally descending and coming of him, be born in Original Sin, that is to say, they lack that original justice and innocency wherewith Adam in his creation was endued, and which also all his posterity should have had, if he, through his disobedience and breaking of the commandment of God, had not lost the same from himself and all his posterity. And further also they be born with concupiscence, whereof spring unlawful desires, repugnant and contrary unto the laws of God; and be guilty to everlasting death and damnation, from the which they can in no wise be delivered by any strength or power that is in them, but rather fall daily into further displeasure of God, by committing and adding of many actual sins.

Wherefore to the intent, that man, might be delivered out of this wretched and miserable state whereunto he had brought himself, and might recover again the same things that were given unto him in his first creation, and thereby attain the everlasting bliss in heaven; it pleased Almighty God, of his great and infinite mercy and goodness, to send his own only-begotten Son, the second person in Trinity, to take upon him the nature of man, and therein to work the Mystery of our Redemption; that is to say, to deliver us from the captivity of the devil, sin, and damnation; and to

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be

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be the very mean of our reconciliation to God, and of our Justification. And sure this reconciliation of mortal man to the favour of God immortal, did necessarily require such a Mediator between them, as had in himself the perfect nature of them both ; which is the very property of a mean between two, to be partner with both of them, between whom he taketh upon him to be a mean. For if he be wholly joined with the one, and clearly separated from the other, then he is not meet to be a mean or mediator between two, which be at debate and enmity. Wherefore our Saviour Christ, being naturally God, took upon him the nature of man ; that he might thereby be conversant among men, and by his death redeem them : And yet he still retained and kept his Godhead, and was both God and man together. For if he had been man only, and not God, then his death could not have been a worthy and sufficient satisfaction for sin to the justice of God. And if he had been only God, and not man, then he, by his bodily conversation, could not have called us again to God, nor suffered and died bodily for us. And this property of a mediator St. Paul considering writeth to Timothy, (*h*) *That there is but one Mediator between God and man,*

(*h*) 1 Tim. ii.

which

which is Christ Jesus; meaning thereby, that because he only had both the natures in him, therefore he only, and none other but he, was able to be a sufficient mediator and mean of our reconciliation to God, and of our Justification.

And for a further declaration how, and by what means, we be made partakers of this benefit of Justification, it is to be noted, that this word Justification, as it is taken in Scripture, signifieth the making of us righteous afore God, where before we were unrighteous; as when by his Grace we convert unto him, and be reconciled into his favour; and of the children of ire and damnation we be made the children of God, and inheritors of everlasting life; that by his Grace we may walk so in his ways, that finally we may be reputed and taken as just and righteous in the day of judgement, and so receive the everlasting possession of the kingdom of heaven. And albeit God is the principal cause, and chief worker, of this Justification in us, without whose Grace no man can do no good thing, but following his Free-Will in the state of a sinner encreaseth his own injustice and multiplieth his sin; yet so it pleaseth the high wisdom of God, that man prevented by his Grace (which, being offered, man may, if he will, refuse or receive,) shall be also a worker by his free consent, and obedience to the same, in the attaining of his own Justification; and

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and by God's grace and help shall walk in such works, as be requisite to his Justification ; and, so continuing, come to the perfect end thereof by such means, and ways, as God hath ordained.

Wherein it is to be considered, that although our Saviour Christ hath offered himself upon the cross, a sufficient Redemption and Satisfaction for the sins of all the world ; and hath made himself an open way and entry unto God the Father for all mankind, only by his worthy merit and deserving ; and, willing all men to be saved, calleth upon the world, without respect of persons, to come and be partakers of the righteousness, peace, and glory, which is in him : yet, for all this benignity and grace shewed universally to the whole world, none shall have the effect of this benefit of our Saviour Christ, and enjoy everlasting salvation by him, but they that take such ways to attain the same, as he hath taught and appointed by his holy word, in such order, manner, and form, as here followeth ; that is to say, first as touching all them which be of age, and have the use of natural reason afore they be christened, the will of God is, that all such (if they will be saved) shall, at the hearing of his blessed word, give steadfast faith and assent thereunto ; as St. Paul saith, (i) *He that cometh to God, must be-*

(i) Heb. xi.

lieve. And by that Faith, grounded on the truth of the word of God, being taught both of the threatenings of God against sinners, and also of the great goodness and mercy of God offered to mankind in our Saviour and Redeemer Christ Jesus, they must conceive a hearty sorrow and repentance for their sins, with a sure trust to have forgiveness of them by the merits and passion of our Saviour Christ. And joining thereunto a full purpose to amend their life, and to commit sin no more, but to serve God all their life after, they must then receive the Sacrament of Baptism. And this is the very plain ordinary way, by the which God hath determined, that man being of age, and coming to Christendome, should be justified. For, as for infants, it is to be believed, that their Justification is wrought by the secret operation of the Holy Ghost in their Baptism, they being offered in the Faith of the Church.

And this Justification, whereof we have hitherto spoken, may be called the first Justification; that is to say, our first coming into God's house, which is the Church of Christ; at which coming we be received and admitted to be of the flock and family of our Saviour Christ, and be professed and sworn to be the servants of God, and to be soldiers under Christ, to fight against our enemies the devil, the world, and the flesh. Of the which enemies if it
chance

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chance us, after our Baptism, to be overthrown and cast into mortal sin, then is there no remedy but, for the recovery of our former estate of Justification which we have lost, to arise by penance ; wherein proceeding in sorrow and much lamentation for our sins, with fasting, alms, prayer, and doing all such things, at the least, in true purpose and will, as God requireth of us, we must have a sure trust and confidence in the mercy of God, that for his son our Saviour Christ's sake he will yet forgive us our sins, and receive us into his favour again. And so, being thus restored to our Justification, we must go forward in our battle aforesaid, in mortifying our concupiscence, and in our daily spiritual renovation : in following the motions of the Spirit of Christ ; in doing Good Works, and abstaining from sin and all occasions thereof : being armed with faith, hope, and charity : to the intent we may attain our final Justification, and so be glorified in the day of judgement with the reward of everlasting life.

Wherefore it is necessary for the keeping and holding of this Justification, once conferred and given in Baptism, or recovered again by penance, through the mercy of our Saviour Christ ; and also for encreasing of the same Justification, and final consummation thereof, to take good heed, and to watch, that we be not deceived by the false suggestion

tion and temptation of our ghostly enemy the devil ;
(*k*) *who, as St. Peter saith, goeth about like a roar-
lion, seeking whom he may devour.*

And it is no doubt, but although we be once justified, yet we may fall therefrom by our own Free-Will and consenting unto sin, and following the desires thereof. For albeit the house of our conscience be once made clean, and the foul spirit be expelled from us in Baptism or penance ; yet, if we wax idle and take not heed, he will return with seven worse spirits, and possess us again. And although we be illuminate, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and be made partakers of the Holy Ghost ; yet may we fall, and displease God. Wherefore, as St. Paul saith, (*l*) *He that standeth, let him take heed that he fall not.*

And here all phantastical imagination, curious reasoning, and vain trust of (*m*) Predestination is to be laid apart. And according to the plain manner of speaking and teaching in Scripture, in innumerable places, we ought evermore to be in dread of our own frailty and natural pronity to fall to sin ; and not to assure ourselves, that we be elected any other wise than by feeling of spiritual motions in

(*k*) 1 Pet. v.

(*l*) 1 Cor. x.

(*m*) See the Article on Predestination in this book, and the notes.

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our heart, and by the tokens of good and virtuous living, in following the Grace of God, and persevering in the same to the end. And this St. Peter (*n*) exhorteth us, to make our vocation and election sure and stable. And Christ saith, (*o*) *He that persevereth unto the end, shall be saved.* And in the Revelation of Saint John, (*p*) *Be faithful unto death, and I shall give thee the crown of life.* Wherefore when be once elected and admitted unto God's service, (as is aforesaid,) and have received our Justification in Baptism, or be restored thereunto by true penance; then must we continually walk after Christ, bearing our cross, and encreasing in his Grace by Good Works; and, so doing, proceed, go forward, and encrease in our Justification, according to the saying of St. John, *He that is just, let him be more justified.* For as the Grace of God, and the gifts thereof, that is to say, faith, repentance, dread, hope, charity, with other fruits of the Holy Ghost, do encrease in us, so do we wax and encrease in our Justification.

And therefore it is plain, that not only Faith, as it is a distinct virtue or gift by itself, is requisite to our Justification; but also the other gifts of the Grace of God, with a desire to do Good Works, proceeding of the same Grace. And whereas, in

(*n*) 2 Pet. ii.

(*o*) St. Matt. xxii.

(*p*) Apoc. ii.
certain

certain places of Scripture, our Justification is ascribed to Faith without any further addition, or mention, of any other virtue or gift of God ; it is to be understood of Faith in the second acception, as before is declared in the *Article of Faith* ; wherein the fear of God, repentance, hope, and charity, be included and comprised ; all which must be joined together in our Justification : so that no Faith is sufficient to Justification or Salvation, but such a Faith as worketh by charity ; as is plainly expressed by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians. And that also our Good Works, which we do, being once justified, by faith and charity, avail both to the conservation and perfection of the said virtues in us, and also to the encrease and end of our Justification and everlasting Salvation.

And although we can never be justified without these gifts of the Holy Ghost, faith, repentance, hope, charity, with desire and study to bring forth Good Works ; yet it is to be understood, that nevertheless we be justified gratis, that is to say, freely ; forasmuch as all other gifts or works, whereby our Justification is wrought and accomplished, come of the free mercy and grace of God, and not of our deserving : So that our pride and glory in ourselves, and our own worthiness, is utterly excluded. For we be not able of ourselves, as of ourselves, not as much as to think any good thing ; but our

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ableness and sufficiency is of God, which giveth us the said gifts, of his own inestimable goodness, and doth also assist us with his Holy Spirit, and strengthen us to keep his commandments.

And, further, where our keeping of them is unperfect, and even in the best men wanteth a great deal of that duty to God, which they ought and be bound to do ; yet Almighty God, of his mere mercy and goodness, accepteth the same, as a perfect fulfilling of them, for our Saviour Christ's sake, which hath fulfilled the law for us, and is the end and perfection of the law to all that truly believe in him. And so we have all gratis, that is to say, of his Grace, and not of our worthiness or any merit going before Grace ; but receiving all of God, as St. Paul saith, *(q) What hast thou that thou hast not received?* We refer all unto his goodness and mercy, by the which we both come unto the beginning of our Justification, and do proceed and go forward in the same ; and finally attain the end thereof, and be brought to everlasting life ; unto the which the very way appointed by Christ, whose word no man may change, is, to keep and observe the commandments of God. For he saith expressly, *(r) If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments :* that is, apply thy

(q) 1 Cor. iii.

(r) St. Matth. xix.

whole

whole study and affection to walk in the law of God, wherein if thou shalt persevere; thou shalt be saved. And so, after thy Justification, thou shalt be glorified, according to the order of God; which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith, *Quos justificavit, illos glorificavit.*

(s) The Article of Good Works.

All preaching and learning of the Word of God in Christ's church, ought to tend this end; that men may be induced not only to know God, and to believe and trust in him, but also to honour and serve him with Good Works, wrought in faith and charity; and utterly to forsake the works of sin and the flesh, which whosoever do commit, (except they repent and amend by penance,) they shall not, as St. Paul saith, inherit the kingdom of God.

And that holy Scripture goeth to this point, to persuade men to live well and to do Good Works, St. Paul testifieth, saying unto Timothy, *All scripture, written by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct; that the servant of God may be perfect, and made*

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apt unto every good work. And whereas we speak of Good Works, it is to be understood, that we mean not only of outward corporal acts and deeds, but also and rather of all inward spiritual works, motions, and desires ; as the love and fear of God, joy in God, godly meditations and thoughts, patience, humility, and such like. And also it is to be understood, that by Good Works we mean not the superstitious works of men's own inventions, which be not commanded of God, nor approved by his word ; in which kind of works many Christian men, and especially of them that were lately called religious (as monks, friars, nuns, and such other,) have, in times past, put their great trust and confidence. Nor yet we mean not of such moral acts, as be done by the power of reason, and natural will of man, without Faith in Christ ; which albeit of their own kind they be good, and by the law and light of nature man is taught to do them, and God also many times doth temporally reward men for doing the same ; yet they be not meritorious, nor available to the attaining of everlasting life, when they be not done in the Faith of Christ ; and therefore be not accounted among the Good Works, whereof we do here intreat. But we speak of such outward and inward works, as God hath prepared for us to walk in, and be done in the Faith of Christ for love and respect to God ; and cannot be brought forth

forth only by man's power, but he must be prevented and holpen thereto by a special Grace.

And these Works be of two sorts: For some be such as men, truly justified and so continuing, do work in charity of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and an unfeigned Faith. Which Works although they be of themselves unworthy, unperfect, and unsufficient; yet forasmuch as they be done in the Faith of Christ, and by the virtue and merits of his Passion, their unperfectness is supplied: the merciful goodness of God accepteth them, as an observation and fulfilling of his law; and they be the very service of God, and be meritorious towards the attaining of everlasting life. And these be called the works and fruits of righteousness.

Other works there be, which be not so perfect as these, and yet they be done by the Grace of God in Faith and good affection of heart towards God; as those be, which men, that have been in deadly sin, and by Grace turn to God, do work, and bring forth, upon respect and remorse that they have for their offences done against God. And these may be called properly the works of penance. As for example: When a sinner, hearing or remembering the Law of God, is moved by Grace to be contrite and sorry for his offences; and beginneth to lament his estate, and to fall to prayer and other good deeds, seeking to avoid the indignation

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indignation of God, and to be reconciled to his favour : these Works come of Grace ; but yet this man is not to be accounted a justified man, but he is yet in seeking Remission of his sins and his Justification, which the anguish of his own conscience telleth him that he yet wanteth ; but he is in a good way ; and by these means doth enter into Justification ; and if he do proceed, and with hearty devotion seek for further Grace, he shall be assured of Remission of his sins, and attain his Justification, and so be made able and meet to walk in the very pure service of God with a clean conscience, and to bring forth the foresaid Works of righteousness in Christ, which he cannot do afore he be justified.

And that such works of penance, as we have spoken of, be required to the attaining of Remission of sins and Justification, it is very evident and plain by Scripture ; as when our Saviour Christ saith, *(t) Be penitent and believe the Gospel* ; that is to say, first be contrite, and knowledge your sins ; and then receive the glad tidings of Remission of your sins. And St. John Baptist preached penance, and made a way unto Christ ; and taught men which came unto him what they should do to come unto Christ, and to have Re-

(t) St. Mark i.

mission of sins by him, as it is written in the third chapter of Luke; and specially that they which be once christened, and afterward fall from the Grace of God by mortal sin, cannot recover their Justification without penance, it is plain by the saying of Peter unto Simon Magus, where he saith, *(u)* *Do penance for this thy wickedness, and pray God if peradventure this thought of thy heart may be forgiven unto thee.*

And, truly, this way and form of doctrine is to be observed, which is the very trade of Scripture, wherein men be taught first to leave sins, or to return by works of penance unto God; and that then they shall receive Remission of sins and Justification. And although such works of penance be required in us towards the attaining of Remission of sins and Justification; yet the same Justification and Remission of sins is the free gift of God, and conferred unto us gratis, that is to say, of the grace of God; whereby we doing such things, and having such motions and works of penance, be prepared, and made more apt, to receive further grace of Remission of our sins and Justification.

And it is not inconvenient that such things should through Grace be done by us first, and yet

(u) Acts vii.

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it should be said, that we receive the said gift freely. For Christ saith in the Revelation of St. John, (w) *Qui sitit, veniat; et qui vult, accipiat aquam vitæ gratis; He that is thirsty, let him come; and he that will, let him take the water of life freely.* Where he affirmeth this gift of God to be freely given and conferred; and yet there is some labour before; as, to have a will and desire to come; which coming cannot be without arising by faith and penance, and proceeding in the same, and so to take the water of life, that is to say, Justification through our Saviour Christ; which once received in Baptism, or after Baptism being recovered by penance, although man daily do offend and fall into divers venial sins by reason of his infirmity and weakness, and therefore hath need of continual and daily repentance, yet as long as he consenteth not to deadly sin, he loseth not the state of his Justification, but remaineth still the child of God; and, being in that state, hath power by God's Grace dwelling in him to do such works, as by acceptance of God through Christ be counted Works of Righteousness, and do serve for the preservation and encrease of his further Justification, and be appointed by God's most gracious promise to have

(w) Apoc. xxii.

everlasting

everlasting reward in heaven. Which both inward and outward works be not only the declaring of our faith and confidence in God, and of the Grace which we have received; but also a continual exercise, nourishment, preservation, encrease, and perfection of the same. For if we should not, after that we have professed Christ, apply our will to work well, according to our said profession; then should we fall from the Grace of God, and the estate of righteousness, which we were once set in, and become again the servants of sin. And as St. Peter saith, *(x) We should be in worse case, than we were before we received the knowledge of Christ.*

And that we encrease in Grace by working in the Grace of God once received, it appeareth by the word of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, *Omni habenti dabitur, et abundabit.* Meaning thereby, that whosoever useth well the Grace of God, which is offered unto him already, he shall have more, and wax plentiful in Grace. Wherefore as we continue and persevere in Good Works, so more and more we go forward and proceed in our Justification, and in encreasing the same; whereunto St. Peter exhorteth us, saying, *(y) Fall not from the sure estate, wherein ye be set; but*

(x) 2 Pet. ii.

(y) 2 Pet. iii.

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encrease and grow in Grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

And to ascribe this dignity unto Good Works, it is no derogation to the Grace of God. Forasmuch as it is to be confessed, that all Good Works come of the Grace of God. And our merits, as St. Augustine saith, be but the gifts of God. And so we may not glory nor look back on our own worthiness or dignity, which is naught, as of ourselves; but of the only acceptance of God's mercy. And therefore we must, as St. Paul saith, (z) *Extend ourselves to that which is afore us, to the reward of the heavenly calling which is in Christ; and still proceed in good works, knowing ourselves to be evermore greater debtors to God for his Grace.* And when we have done all which we be bidden to do, the Scripture teacheth us to say that we be (a) *unprofitable servants*; because that whatsoever we have done, it is but our duty; nor have we done nothing, but that we have received of his gift to do; and that to our profit, and not to his. But yet must we take heed, that, seeing we have received the Grace of God, we be not found unprofitable servants in this wise; that is to say, idle servants; to whom it shall be said, (b) *Cast out the unprofitable servants into*

(z) Philipp. iii.

(a) St. Luke xvii.

(b) St. Matth. xxv.

the outward darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And St. Paul also exhorteth, saying, (c) Receive not the Grace of God in vain; that is to say, work well; for the Grace of God is given you to that intent; and to that end we are redeemed by Christ, and delivered from the thralldom of sin and captivity of the devil; that (d) we should serve God, as Zachary saith, in holiness and righteousness afore him all our life. And in another place St. Paul saith, (e) The Grace of God hath appeared to bring salvation unto all men, teaching us that we, renouncing all ungodliness and worldly desires, should live in this present world soberly, justly, and devoutly; looking for the blessed hope and appearance of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesu Christ, which gave himself for us, to redeem us from all wickedness, and to cleanse unto himself a special people, which should be studious followers of Good Works. In which godly sentence of St Paul, besides other great plenty of fruitful learning and edifying, he toucheth in three words all the Good Works of a true Christian man, where he saith, soberly, justly, and devoutly. For in this word soberly he comprehendeth all abstinence and temperance, and our duty touching our body. And in saying justly

(c) 2 Cor. vi.

(d) St. Luke i.

(e) Tit. ii.

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he containeth all works of charity towards our neighbour, with due obedience to our princes, heads, and governours. And in this word *devoutly* he concludeth all our works spiritual, which be done immediately unto God ; as prayer, thinking of God, desiring of his glory, &c.

And unto these Works ought we most diligently, with all labour and care, to apply our will for these effects and ends ; that is to say, the glory of God, the profit of our neighbour, and our own merit ; that we may shew ourselves thankful servants to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to be the very people of God ; and that he may be glorified in us ; that his Church may be edified by our example ; that we may avoid falling into temptation and sin ; that we may escape the scourge of God ; that the Grace of God, and the gifts thereof, may encrease and be made perfect in us ; that we may make our election stable and sure, that we may attain everlasting life, being found fruitful in the day of judgement, where every man shall receive according to his works.

FROM THE BOOK OF HOMILIES, edit. 1548.

(f) *An Homily of the Salvation of Mankind by only Christ our Saviour, from Sin and Death everlasting.*

BECAUSE all men besinners and offenders against God, and breakers of his Law and Com-

(f) This is the Homily to which the *Article on Justification* refers; and is said to be the composition of Archbishop Cranmer; as I have shewn in the Introduction to this compilation. The *Homilies on Faith and Works* are also expressly ascribed to the same pen.

It has been observed, "that our first Reformers must have understood the terms *Justification* and *Salvation* as equivalent. For whereas they refer to the *Homily on Justification* in their 11th Article, there is in fact no such Homily precisely with that title. The *Homily* they meant is *that of Salvation*. And therefore it is obvious to the meanest capacity, that they made no such idle distinctions between the conditions of Justification, and those of Salvation, as a Calvinist must necessarily make. They thought, that *that* which justified, did also save; and that *that* which saved, did also justify." Dean Tucker, Lett. to Dr. Kippis, p. 110.

There is no division of this and the two succeeding Homilies into three parts, in the old edition.

mandments,

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mandments, therefore can no man by his own acts, works, and deeds (seem they never so good) be justified, and made righteous before God: but every man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness, & Justification, to be received at God's own hands; that is to say, the remission, pardon, and forgiveness of his sins and trespasses, in such things as he hath offended. And this Justification or righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by Faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full Justification. For the more full understanding hereof, it is our parts and duty ever to remember the great mercy of God, how that all the world being wrapped in sin by breaking of the Law) God sent his only Son our Saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the Law for us, and, by shedding of his most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to his Father for our sins, to assuage his wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same.

(g) Inasmuch that infants, being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children and inheritors of his kingdom of

(g) The efficacy of Christ's passion and oblation.

heaven.

heaven. And they, which (*h*) actually do sin after their Baptism, when they (*i*) convert and turn again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins, in such sort, that there remaineth not any spot of sin, that shall be imputed to their damnation. This is that Justification, or righteousness, which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith, (*k*) *No man is justified by the works of the Law, but freely by Faith in Jesus Christ.* And again he saith, *We believe in Jesus Christ, that we be justified freely by the Faith of Christ, and not by the Works of the Law, because that no man shall be justified by the Works of the Law.* And although this Justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all. (*l*) But here may man's reason be astonied, reasoning after this fashion: If a ransom be paid for our Redemption, then is it not given us freely. For a prisoner that payeth his ransom is not let go freely; for if he go freely, then he goeth without ransom: for what is it else to go freely, than to be set at liberty without payment of ransom?

(*h*) In the preceding page, Cranmer's words are "the remission, pardon, and forgiveness of his sins." Later editions, *forgiveness* only. I now throw the various readings of later editions into notes; for *actually*, later editions read *act and deed*.

(*i*) Later edit. omit *convert and*.

(*k*) Gal. ii. (*l*) Objection.

E

This

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(*m*) This reason is satisfied by the great wisdom of God in this Mystery of our Redemption, who hath so tempered his justice and mercy together, that he would neither by his justice condemn us unto the(*n*) perpetual captivity of the devil, and his prison of hell, remediless for ever, without mercy; nor by his mercy deliver us clearly, without justice, or payment of a just ransom; but with his endless mercy he joined his most upright and equal justice. His great mercy he shewed unto us in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made, upon our parts; which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas it lay not in us (*o*) that to do, he provided a ransom for us, that was, the most precious body and blood of his own most dear and best beloved Son Jesus Christ; who, besides this ransom, fulfilled the Law for us perfectly. And so the justice of God and his mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the Mystery of our Redemption. And of this justice and mercy of God, knit together, speaketh St. Paul in the third chapter to the Romans, *All have offended, and have need of the glory of God; [but are] justified freely by his grace, by redemption which is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to us for a reconciler and peace-*

(*m*) An answer.

(*n*) everlasting.

(*o*) to do that.
maker,

maker, through faith in his blood, to shew his righteousness. And in the tenth chapter, Christ is the end of the Law unto righteousness, to every man that believeth. And in the eighth chapter, That which was impossible by the Law, inasmuch as it was weak by the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, by sin damned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

(*p*) In these foresaid places, the Apostle toucheth specially three things, which must (*q*) concur and go together in our Justification. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption; by the offering of his body, and shedding of his blood, with fulfilling of the Law perfectly and thoroughly; and upon our part, true and lively Faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, which yet is not ours, but by God's working in us: So that in our Justification is not only God's mercy and grace, but also his justice, which the Apostle calleth the justice of God; and it consisteth in paying our ransom, and fulfilling of the Law: and so the grace of God doth not

(*p*) Three things must go together in our Justification.

(*q*) Later edit. omit *concur and*.

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(*r*) exclude the justice of God in our Justification, but only excludeth the justice of man, that is to say, the justice of our works, as to be merits of deserving our Justification. And therefore St. Paul declareth here nothing upon the behalf of man concerning his Justification, but only a true and lively Faith, which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work, without God. (*s*) And yet that Faith doth not exclude repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with Faith in every man that is justified; but it excludeth them from the office of justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not all together. (*t*) Nor that Faith also doth not exclude the justice of our Good Works, necessarily to be done afterward of duty towards God; (for we are most bounden to serve God, in doing good deeds, commanded by him in his holy Scripture, all the days of our life :) but it excludeth them, so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good [just] by doing of them. For all the Good Works that we can do be unperfect, and therefore not

(*r*) Later edit. *shut* or *shutteth out*, throughout this page where *exclude* or *excludeth* occurs; except in the last instance, "but it *excludeth* them, &c." where the editions agree.

(*s*) How it is to be understood that Faith justifieth without Works.

(*t*) *Neither* doth Faith *shut out*, &c.

able

able to deserve our Justification : but our Justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God, and of so great and free mercy, that whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the Law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the Law in his life. So that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the Law ; forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacketh, Christ's justice hath supplied.

Before was declared at large, that no man can be justified by his own Good Works, (*u*) because that no man fulfilleth the Law, according to the (*w*) full request of the Law. And St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians proveth the same, saying thus ; (*x*) *If there had been any law given, which could have justified, verily righteousness should have been by the Law.* And again he saith, *If righteousness be by the Law, then Christ died in vain.*

(*u*) Some editions omit *because*.

(*w*) *strict rigour.*

(*x*) Gal. iii.

And

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And again he saith, *You that are justified by the Law are fallen away from grace.* And furthermore he writeth to the Ephesians on this wise, (y) *By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any man should glory.* And, to be short, the sum of all Paul's disputation is this; that if justice come of Works, then it cometh not of Grace; and if it come of Grace, then it cometh not of Works. And to this end tendeth all the Prophets, as St. Peter saith in the tenth of the Acts; *Of Christ all the Prophets, saith St. Peter, do witness, that through his name, all they that believe in him shall receive the remission of sins.* (z) And after this wise to be justified only by this true and lively Faith in Christ, speaketh all the old and ancient authors, both Greeks and Latins; of whom I will specially rehearse three; Hilary, Basil, and Ambrose. St. Hilary saith these words plainly in the ninth Canon upon Matthew; *Faith only justifieth.* And St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus: *This is a perfect and a whole rejoicing in God, when a man advanceth not himself for his own righteousness but knowledgeth himself to lack true justice an*

(y) Ephes. ii.

(z) Faith only justifieth, is the doctrine of old Doctors.
righteousness

righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ. (a) And Paul, saith he, doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he "looketh for the righteousness of God by Faith."

These be the very words of St. Basil ; and St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith these words : *This is the ordinance of God, that (b) he which believeth in Christ should be saved without Works, by Faith only, freely receiving remission of his sins. Consider diligently these words ; without Works, by Faith only, freely we receive remission of our sins. What can be spoken more plainly, than to say, that freely without Works, by Faith only, we obtain remission of our sins ?* These, and other like sentences, that we be justified by Faith only, freely, and without Works, we do read oft times in the most best and ancient writers : as, beside Hilary, Basil, and St. Ambrose, before rehearsed, we read the same in Origen, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Prosper, Oecumenius, Photius, Bernardus, Anselm, and many other authors, Greek and Latin. Nevertheless, this sentence, that we be justified by Faith only, is not so meant of them, that the said justifying Faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear of God, at any time and season.

(a) Philip. iii.

(b) they, and their sins.

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(c) Nor when they say, that we be justified freely, (d) they mean not that we should or might afterward be idle, and that nothing should be required on our parts afterward: neither they mean not so to be justified without our Good Works, that we should do no Good Works at all, like as shall be more expressed at large hereafter. But this saying, that we be justified by Faith only, freely, and without Works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our Works, as being (e) insufficient to deserve our Justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man, and the goodness of God; the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfectness of our own Works, and the most abundant Grace of our Saviour Christ; and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our Justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding. This Faith the holy Scripture teacheth; this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion; this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's church do approve; (f) this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and (g) suppresseth

(c) Faith alone, how it is to be understood.

(d) do they mean.

(e) unable.

(f) The profit of the doctrine of Faith only justifieth.

(g) beateth down.

the vain-glory of man : this whosoever denieth, is not to be *(h)* reputed for a Christian man, *(i)* not for a setter-forth of Christ's glory, *(k)* but for an adversary to Christ and his Gospel, and for a setter-forth of men's vain-glory. And although this doctrine be never so true, (as it is most true indeed,) that we be justified freely, without all merit of our own Good Works; (as St. Paul doth express it,) and freely, by this lively and perfect Faith in Christ only, (as the ancient authors use to speak it,) yet this true doctrine must be also truly understood, and most plainly declared, lest carnal men should take unjustly occasion thereby to live carnally, after the appetite and will of the world, the flesh, and the devil. *(l)* And because no man should err by mistaking of this doctrine, I shall plainly and shortly so declare the right understanding of the same, that no man shall justly think that he may thereby take any occasion of carnal liberty to follow the desires of the flesh, or that thereby any kind of sin shall be committed, or any ungodly living the more used.

First, you shall understand, that in our Justifi-

(h) accounted.

(i) nor.

(k) What they be that impugn the doctrine of Faith only justifieth.

(l) A declaration of this doctrine [of] Faith without Works justifieth.

cation

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cation by Christ it is not all one thing, the office of God unto man, and the office of man unto God. Justification is not the office of man, but of God; for man cannot (*m*) justify himself by his own Works, neither in part, nor in the whole; for that were the greatest arrogancy and presumption of man that Antichrist could (*n*) erect against God, to affirm that a man might by his own Works take away and purge his own sins, and so justify himself. (*o*) But Justification is the office of God only, and is not a thing which we render unto him, but which we receive of him; not which we give to him, but which we take of him by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier, Jesus Christ. So that the true understanding of this doctrine, we be justified freely by Faith without Works, or that we be justified by Faith in Christ only, is not, that this our own act to believe in Christ, or this our Faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us, and (*p*) merit our Justification unto us, (for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves;) but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although

(*m*) *make himself righteous.*

(*n*) *set up.*

(*o*) *Justification is the office of God only.*

(*p*) *deserve.*

we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, dread, and fear of God within us, and do never so many Good Works thereunto; yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak, and insufficient, and unperfect, to deserve remission of our sins, and our Justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our Original Sin in Baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our Baptism, if we truly repent, and (q) convert unfeignedly to him again. So that, as St. John Baptist, although he were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving of sin, he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them, (r) *Behold, yonder is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world;* even so, as great and as godly a virtue as the lively Faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth or appointeth us unto Christ, for to have

(q) turn.

(r) John i.

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only by him remission of our sins, or Justification. So that our Faith in Christ (as it were) saith unto us thus : It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only ; and to him only I send you for that purpose, (*s*) renouncing therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and only putting your trust in Christ.

Thus you do see, that the very true (*t*) sense of this proposition or saying, *We be justified by Faith in Christ only* (according to the meaning of the old ancient authors) is this : We put our Faith in Christ, that we be justified by him only, that we be justified by God's free mercy, and the merits of our Saviour Christ only, and by no virtue or Good Work of our own that is in us, or that we can be able to have, or to do, for to deserve the same ; Christ himself only being the cause meritorious thereof.

Here you perceive many words to be used, to avoid contention in words with them that delight to brawl about words ; and also to shew the true meaning, to avoid evil taking and misunderstanding : and yet peradventure all will not serve with them that be contentious ; but contenders will ever forge matter of contention, even when they have none occasion thereto. Notwithstanding, such be the less to be passed upon, so that the

(*s*) *forsaking.*

(*t*) *meaning.*

rest

rest may profit, which will be more desirous to know the truth, than (when it is plain enough) to contend about it, and with contentious and captious cavillations to obscure and darken it. Truth it is, that our own Works do not justify us, to speak properly of our Justification; that is to say, our Works do not merit or deserve remission of our sins, and make us, of unjust, just before God: but God of his mere mercy, through the only merits and deservings of his Son Jesus Christ, doth justify us. Nevertheless, because Faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins, and that, by Faith given us of God, we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins, (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth,) therefore Scripture useth to say, that *Faith without Works doth justify*. And forasmuch (*u*) that it is all one sentence in effect, to say, Faith without Works, and only Faith, doth justify us; therefore the old ancient Fathers of the Church, from time to time, have uttered our Justification with this speech: *Only Faith justifieth us*; meaning none other thing than St. Paul meant, when he said, *Faith without Works justifieth us*. And because all this is brought to pass through the only merits and deservings of our Saviour Christ, and not through

(*u*) *as*.

our

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our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us; therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we (*w*) renounce, as it were, altogether again, Faith, Works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of Original Sin, that all is imperfect that is within us; faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works; and therefore not apt to merit and deserve any part of our Justification for us. And this form of speaking use we, in the humbling of ourselves to God, and to give all the glory to our Saviour Christ, who is best worthy to have it.

Here you have heard the office of God in our Justification, and how we receive it of him freely, by his mercy, without our deserts, through true and lively Faith. Now you shall hear the office and duty of a Christian man unto God, what we ought on our part to render unto God again for his great mercy and goodness. (*x*) Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are baptized or justified, not caring how few Good Works we do to the glory of God, and profit of our neighbours: much less it is our office, after that we be once made Christ's members, to

(*w*) *forsake.*

(*x*) They, that preach Faith only justifieth, do not teach carnal liberty, or that we should do no Good Works.

live

live contrary to the same ; making ourselves members of the devil, walking after his enticements, and after the suggestions of the world and the flesh, whereby we know that we do serve the world and the devil, and not God. For that Faith which bringeth forth (without repentance) either evil works, or no good works, is not a right, pure, and lively Faith, but a (*y*) dead, devilish, counterfeit, and feigned Faith, as St. Paul and St. James call it. For even the devils know and believe that Christ was born of a Virgin ; that he fasted forty days and forty nights without meat and drink ; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God : they believe also, that Christ for our sakes suffered most painful death, to redeem us from (*z*) eternal death, and that he rose again from death the third day : they believe that he ascended into heaven, and that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and at the last end of this world shall come again, and judge both the quick and the dead. These articles of our Faith the devils believe ; and so they believe all things that be written in the New and Old Testament to be true : and yet for all this Faith they be but devils, remaining still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true Christian Faith. (*a*) For the right and true Christian Faith

(*y*) The devils have Faith, but not the true Faith.

(*z*) *everlasting*.

(*a*) What is the true and justifying Faith.

is,

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is, not only to believe that holy Scripture, and all the foresaid articles of our Faith are true; but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ: whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments. And this true Christian Faith neither any devil hath, nor yet any man, which in the outward profession of his mouth, and in his outward receiving of the sacraments, in coming to the church, and in all other outward appearances, seemeth to be a Christian man, and yet in his living and deeds sheweth the contrary. (b) For how can a man have this true Faith, this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins be (c) remitted, and he reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodly, and denieth Christ in his deeds? Surely, no such ungodly man can have this faith and trust in God. For as they know Christ to be the only Saviour of the world; so they know also that wicked men shall not (d) possess the kingdom of God. They know that God hateth unrighteousness; (e) that he will destroy all those that speak untruly; that those that have done Good Works (which cannot be done without a lively Faith in Christ) shall come forth into the resurrection of

(b) They that continue in evil living have not true Faith.

(c) *forgiven.*

(d) *enjoy.*

(e) Psal. v.

life,

life, and those that have done evil shall come unto resurrection of judgement. (*f*) And very well they know also, that to them that be contentious, and to them that will not be obedient unto the truth, but will obey unrighteousness, shall come indignation, wrath, and affliction, &c. Therefore, to conclude, considering the infinite benefits of God, shewed and (*g*) exhibited unto us mercifully without our deserts, who hath not only created us of nothing, and from a piece of vile clay, of his infinite goodness hath exalted us, as touching our soul, unto his own similitude and likeness; but also, whereas we were condemned to hell and death (*h*) eternal, hath given his own natural Son, being God eternal, immortal, and equal unto himself in power and glory, to be incarnated, and to take our mortal nature upon him, with the infirmities of the same; and in the same nature to suffer most shameful and painful death for our offences, to the intent to justify us, and to restore us to life everlasting: so making us also his dear (*i*) beloved children, brethren unto his only Son our Saviour Christ, and inheritors for ever with him of his eternal kingdom of heaven.

These great and merciful benefits of God, if they be well considered, do neither minister unto us occasion to be idle, and to live without doing any Good

(*f*) Later edit. omit *and*.

(*g*) *given*.

(*h*) *everlasting*.

(*i*) Some editions omit *beloved*.

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Works, neither yet (*k*) stirreth us by any means to do evil things ; but contrariwise, if we be not desperate persons, and our hearts harder than stones, they move us to render ourselves unto God wholly, with all our will, hearts, might, and power, to serve him in all good deeds, obeying his commandments during our lives ; to seek in all things his glory and honour, not our sensual pleasures and vain glory ; evermore dreading willingly to offend such a merciful God and loving Redeemer, in word, thought, or deed. And the said benefits of God, deeply considered, move us for his sake also to be ever ready to give ourselves to our neighbours, and, as much as lieth in us, to study with all our endeavour to do good to every man. These be the fruits of the true Faith, to do good as much as lieth in us to every man ; and, above all things, and in all things, to advance the glory of God, of whom only we have our sanctification, justification, salvation, and redemption : to whom be ever glory, praise, and honour, world without end. *Amen.*

*A short Declaration of the true, lively, and
Christian Faith.*

The first entry unto God, good Christian people, is through Faith, whereby (as it is declared

(*k*) stir up.

in

in the last Sermon) we be justified before God. And lest any man should be deceived, for lack of right understanding thereof, it is diligently to be noted, that Faith is taken in the Scripture two manner of ways. (l) There is one Faith, which in Scripture is called a dead Faith, which bringeth forth no Good Works; but is idle, barren, and unfruitful. And this Faith, by the holy Apostle St. James, is compared to the (m) *Faith of devils*, which believe God to be true and just, *and tremble* for fear; yet they do nothing well, but all evil. And such a manner of Faith have the wicked and naughty Christian people, (n) *which confess God*, as St. Paul saith, *in their mouth*, but *deny him in their deeds, being abominable, and without the right Faith, and to all Good Works reprovab.* And this Faith is a persuasion and belief in man's heart, whereby he knoweth that there is a God, and (o) assenteth unto all truth of God's most holy word, contained in holy Scripture. So that it consisteth only in believing in the word of God, that it is true. And this is not properly called Faith. But as he that readeth Cæsar's Commentaries, believing the same to be true, hath thereby a knowledge of Cæsar's life and noble acts, because he believeth the history of Cæsar; yet it is not properly said, that he be-

(l) A dead Faith.

(m) James ii.

(n) Titus i.

(o) *agreeth.*

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lieth in Cæsar, of whom he looketh for no help nor benefit: even so, he that believeth that all that is spoken of God in the Bible is true, and yet liveth so ungodly, that he cannot look to enjoy the promises and benefits of God; although it may be said that such a man hath a faith and belief to the words of God; yet it is not properly said that he believeth in God, or hath such a faith and trust in God, whereby he may surely look for grace, mercy, and (p) eternal life at God's hand, but rather for indignation and punishment, according to the merits of his wicked life. For as it is written in a book, intituled to be of Didymus Alexandrinus, *Forasmuch as Faith without Works is dead, it is not now Faith; as a dead man is not a man.* This dead Faith therefore is not the sure and substantial Faith which saveth sinners. (q) Another Faith there is in Scripture, which is not, as the foresaid Faith, idle, unfruitful, and dead, but *worketh by charity*, (r) (as St. Paul declareth,) which, as the other vain Faith is called a dead Faith, so may this be called a quick or lively Faith. And this is not only the common belief of the articles of our Faith; but it is also a (s) sure trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and a steadfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hand:

(p) *everlasting.*

(r) Gal. v.

(q) A lively faith.

(s) *true.*

and

and that although we, through infirmity, or temptation of our ghostly enemy, do fall from him by sin ; yet if we return again unto him by true repentance, that he will forgive and forget our offences for his Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and will make us inheritors with him of his everlasting kingdom ; and that in the mean time, until that kingdom come, he will be our protector and defender in all perils and dangers, whatsoever do chance : and that though sometime he doth send us sharp adversity, yet that evermore he will be a loving father unto us, correcting us for our sin, but not withdrawing his mercy finally from us, if we trust in him, and commit ourselves wholly unto him, hang only upon him, and call upon him, ready to obey and serve him. This is the true, lively, and unfeigned Christian Faith ; and is not in the mouth and outward profession only, but it liveth, and stirreth inwardly in the heart. And this Faith is not without hope and trust in God, nor without the love of God and of our neighbours, nor without the fear of God, nor without the desire to hear God's word, and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all Good Works.

(1) This Faith, as St. Paul describeth it, is the sure ground and foundation of the benefits which

(1) Heb. xi.

we,

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we ought to look for, and trust to receive of God, a certificate and sure looking for them, although they yet sensibly appear not unto us. And after he saith, *He that cometh to God must believe, both that he is, and that he is a merciful rewarder of well-doers.* And nothing commendeth good men unto God so much, as this assured faith and trust in him. Of this Faith three things are specially to be noted.

(u) First, that this Faith doth not lie dead in the heart, but is lively and fruitful in bringing forth Good Works. Second, that without it can no Good Works be done, that shall be acceptable and pleasant to God. Third, what manner of Good Works they be that this Faith doth bring forth.

(w) For the first, as the light cannot be hid, but will shew forth itself at one place or other ; so a true Faith cannot be kept secret ; but when occasion is offered, it will break out, and shew itself by Good Works. And as the living body of a man ever exerciseth such things as belong to a natural and living body, for nourishment and preservation of the same, as it hath need, opportunity, and occasion ; even so the soul that hath a lively Faith in it will be doing alway some Good Work, which shall declare that it is living, and will not be unoc-

(u) Three things are to be noted of Faith.

(w) Faith is full of Good Works.

cupied.

cupied. Therefore, when men hear in the Scriptures so high commendations of Faith, that it maketh us to please God, to live with God, and to be the children of God; if then they fantasy that they be set at liberty from doing all Good Works, and may live as they list, they trifle with God, and deceive themselves. And it is a manifest token that they be far from having the true and lively Faith, and also far from knowledge what true Faith meaneth. For the very sure and lively Christian Faith is, not only to believe all things of God which are contained in holy Scripture, but also is an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he doth regard us, and (*x*) hath cure of us, as the father of the child whom he doth love, and that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake; and that we have our Saviour Christ our perpetual Advocate, and Priest, in whose only merits, oblation, and suffering, we do trust that our offences be continually washed and purged, whensoever we, repenting truly, do return to him with our whole heart, steadfastly determining with ourselves, through his Grace, to obey and serve him in keeping his commandments, and never to turn back again to sin. Such is the true Faith that the Scripture doth so much commend, the which, when it

(*x*) *that he is careful over us, as the father is over the child, &c.*

seeth

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seeth and considereth what God hath done for us, is also moved, through continual assistance of the Spirit of God, to serve and please him, to keep his favour, to fear his displeasure, to continue his obedient children, shewing thankfulness again by observing or keeping his commandments, and that freely, for true love chiefly, and not for dread of punishment, or love of temporal reward; considering how clearly, without our deservings, we have received his mercy and pardon freely.

This true Faith will shew forth itself, and cannot long be idle: for as it is written, *(y) The just man doth live by his Faith.* He neither sleepeth, nor is idle, when he should wake, and be well occupied. And God by his Prophet Jeremy saith, that *(z) he is a happy and blessed man, which hath faith and confidence in God.* For he is like a tree set by the water-side, that spreadeth his roots abroad toward the moisture, and feareth not heat when it cometh; his leaf will be green, and will not cease to bring forth his fruit: even so, faithful men, putting away all fear of adversity, will shew forth the fruit of their Good Works, as occasion is offered to do them.

The Wise Man saith, *(a) He that believeth in God will hearken unto his commandments.* For if we do not shew ourselves faithful in our conversation, the Faith which we pretend to have is but a

(y) Habak. ii.

(z) Jer. xvii.

(a) Eccles. xxxii.

feigned

feigned Faith : because the true Christian Faith is manifestly shewed by good living, and not by words only, as (b) St. Augustine saith, *Good living cannot be separated from true faith, which worketh by love.* And (c) St. Chrysostom saith, *Faith of itself is full of Good Works* : as soon as a man doth believe, he shall be garnished with them. How plentiful this Faith is of Good Works, and how it maketh the work of one man more acceptable to God than of another, St. Paul teacheth at large in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, saying, that (d) *Faith made the oblation of Abel better than the oblation of Cain.* This made Noah to (e) *build the ark.* This made Abraham to (f) *forsake his country and all his friends, and to go unto a far country,* there to dwell among strangers. So did also Isaac and Jacob, (g) depending only of the help and trust that they had in God. And when they came to the country which God promised them, they would build no cities, towns, nor houses ; but lived like strangers in tents, that might every day be removed. Their trust was so much in God, that they set but little by any worldly thing, for that God had prepared for them better dwelling-

(b) Libro de Fide et Operibus, cap. ii.

(c) Sermo de Lege et Fide. (d) Heb. xi. Gen. iv.

(e) Gen. vi. (f) Eccclus. xliv. Gen. xi.

(g) " depending or hanging only on."

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places in heaven, of his own foundation and building. *(h)* This Faith made Abraham ready at God's commandment to offer his own son and heir Isaac, whom he loved so well, and by whom he was promised to have innumerable issue, among the which, one should be born, in *whom all nations should be blessed*; trusting so much in God, that though he were slain, yet that God was able by his omnipotent power to raise him from death, and perform his promise. He mistrusted not the promise of God, although unto his reason every thing seemed contrary. He believed verily that God would not forsake him in dearth and famine that was in the country. And, in all other dangers that he was brought unto, he trusted ever that God would be his God, and his protector, and defender, whatsoever he saw to the contrary. This Faith wrought so in the heart of Moses, that, *(i)* *he refused to be taken for King Pharaoh his daughter's son, and to have great inheritance in Egypt; thinking it better with the people of God to have affliction and sorrow, than with naughty men in sin to live pleasantly for a time. By Faith he cared not for the threatening of King Pharaoh*; for his trust was so in God, that he passed not of the felicity of this world, but looked for the reward to come in heaven; setting his heart

(h) Gen. xxii. Eccus. xlv.

(i) Exod. ii.
upon

upon *the invisible God*, as if he had seen him ever present before his eyes. (k) *By Faith the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea.* (l) *By Faith the walls of Jericho fell down without stroke*, and many other wonderful miracles have been wrought. In all good men, that heretofore have been, Faith hath brought forth (m) their Good Works, and obtained the promises of God. (n) *Faith hath stopped the lions' mouths:* (o) *Faith hath quenched the force of fire:* (p) *Faith hath escaped the sword's edge: Faith hath given weak men strength, victory in battle, overthrown the armies of infidels, raised the dead to life:* Faith hath made good men to take adversity in good part; some have been *mocked and whipped, bound and cast in prison; some have lost all their goods, and lived in great poverty; some have wandered in mountains, hills, and wilderness; some have been racked, some slain, some stoned, some sawn, some rent in pieces, some* (q) *headed, some brent without mercy, and would not be delivered, because they looked to rise again to a better state.*

All these fathers, martyrs, and other holy men, whom St. Paul spake of, had their Faith surely fixed in God, when all the world was against them.

(k) Exod. xiv. (l) Josh. vi. (m) Some edit: *her*.

(n) Dan. vi. (o) Dan. iii. (p) Heb. xi.

(q) Modern edit. *beheaded and burnt.* Cranmer's are true old English words.

They

They did not only know God to be the Lord, Maker, and Governor of all men in the world ; but also they had a special confidence and trust, that he was and would be their God, their comforter, aider, helper, maintainer, and defender. This is the Christian Faith, which these holy men had, and we also ought to have. And although they were not named Christian men, yet was it a Christian Faith that they had ; for they looked for all benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jesus Christ, as we now do. This difference is between them and us ; for they looked when Christ should come, and we be in the time when he is come, Therefore, saith St. Augustine, *(r) the time is altered and changed, but not the Faith : For we have both one Faith in one Christ.* *(s) The same Holy Ghost also that we have, had they,* saith St. Paul. For as the Holy Ghost doth teach us to trust in God, and to call upon him as our Father, so did he teach them to say, as it is written, *(t) Thou, Lord, art our Father and Redeemer ; and thy Name is without beginning, and everlasting.* God gave them then Grace to be his children, as he doth us now. But now, by the coming of our Saviour Christ, we have received more abundantly the Spirit of God in our hearts, whereby we may conceive a greater faith, and a surer trust, than many

(r) In Johan. Tract. xlv. *(s)* 2 Cor. iv. *(t)* Isa. lxiii.

of them had. But in effect they and we be all one: we have the same Faith that they had in God, and they the same that we have. And St. Paul so much extolleth their Faith, because we should no less, but rather more, give ourselves wholly unto Christ, both in profession and living, now when Christ is come, than the old fathers did before his coming. And by all the declaration of St. Paul it is evident, that the true, lively, and Christian Faith is no dead, vain, or unfruitful thing, but a thing of perfect virtue, of wonderful (*u*) operation and strength, bringing forth all good motions and good works.

All holy Scripture agreeably beareth witness, that a true lively Faith in Christ doth bring forth Good Works; and therefore every man must examine and try himself diligently, to know whether he have the same true lively Faith in his heart unfeignedly, or not; which he shall know by the fruits thereof. Many that professed the Faith of Christ were in this error, that they thought they knew God and believed in him, when in their life they declared the contrary: which error St. John, in his first Epistle confuting, writeth in this wise: (*w*) *Hereby we are certified that we know God, if we observe his commandments. He that saith he knoweth God,*

(*u*) Later edit. read "operation or working."

(*w*) 1 John ii.

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and observeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. And again he saith, (x) Whosoever sinneth doth not see God, nor know him: Let no man deceive you, well-beloved children. And moreover he saith, (y) Hereby we know that we be of the truth, and so we shall persuade our hearts before him. For if our own hearts reprove us, God is above our hearts, and knoweth all things. Well-beloved, if our hearts reprove us not, then have we confidence in God, and shall have of him whatsoever we ask, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that please him. And yet further he saith, (z) Every man that believeth that Jesus is Christ, is born of God; and we know that whosoever is born of God doth not sin: But he that is begotten of God purgeth himself, and the devil doth not touch him. And finally he concludeth, and (a) shewing the cause why he wrote this Epistle saith, (b) For this cause have I thus written unto you, that you may know that you have everlasting life, which do believe in the Son of God. And in his third Epistle he confirmeth the whole matter of Faith and Works in few words, saying, (c) He that doth well is of God, and he that doth evil knoweth not God. And as St. John saith, that as he lively knowledge and

(x) 1 John iii.

(y) Ibid.

(z) 1 John v.

(a) Later edit. sheweth and sayg.

(b) 1 John v.

(c) 3 John.

Faith

Faith of God bringeth forth Good Works; so saith he likewise of hope and charity, that they cannot stand with evil living. Of hope he writeth thus :

(d) We know that when God shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we shall see him even as he is :

And whosoever hath this hope in him doth purify himself, like as God is pure. And of charity he saith these words :

(e) He that doth keep God's word, or commandment, in him is truly the perfect love of God. And again he saith, *(f) This is the love of God, that we should keep his commandments.* And St.

John wrote not this as a subtile *(g)* proposition, devised of his own fantasy, but as a most certain and necessary truth, taught unto him by Christ himself, the

eternal and infallible verity; who, in many places, doth most clearly affirm, that Faith, Hope, and

Charity, cannot *(h)* consist without Good and Godly Works. Of Faith he saith, *(i) He that be-*

lieveth in the Son hath everlasting life; but he that believeth not in the Son shall not see that life, but

the wrath of God remaineth upon him. And the same he confirmeth with a double oath, saying,

(k) Forsooth and forsooth, I say unto you, he that be-

lieveth in me hath everlasting life. Now forasmuch as he that believeth in Christ hath everlasting life, it

(d) 1 John iii.

(e) 1 John ii.

(f) 1 John v.

(g) saying.

(h) "consist or stand."

(i) 1 John v. John iii.

(k) John vi. *Verily, verily.*

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must needs consequently follow, that he that hath this Faith must have also Good Works, and be studious to observe God's commandments obediently. For to them that have evil works, and lead their life in disobedience and (l) transgression of God's commandments, without repentance, pertaineth not everlasting life, but everlasting death, as Christ himself saith, (m) *They that do well shall go into life eternal; but they that do evil shall go into (n) the eternal fire.* And again he saith, (o) *I am the first letter and the last, the beginning and the ending: To him that is athirst, I will give of the well of the water of life freely: He that hath the victory shall have all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son: but they that be fearful, mistrusting God, and lacking faith; they that be cursed people, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.* And as Christ undoubtedly affirmeth, that (p) *true Faith bringeth forth Good Works*; so doth he say likewise of charity; (q) *Whosoever hath my commandments, and keepeth them, that is he that loveth me.* And after he saith, *He that loveth me will keep my word, and he*

(l) "transgression or breaking."

(m) Matt. xxv.

(n) everlasting.

(o) Apoc. xxi.

(p) Charity bringeth forth Good Works.

(q) John xiv.

that loveth me not keepeth not my words. And as the love of God is tried by Good Works, so is the fear of God also, as the Wise Man saith, *(s) The dread of God putteth away sin.* And also he saith, *(t) He that feareth God will do good works.*

A man may soon deceive himself, and think in his own fantasy that he by Faith knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, and belongeth to him, when in very deed he doth nothing less. For the trial of all these things, is a very godly and Christian life. He that feeleth his heart set to seek God's honour, and studieth to know the will and commandments of God, and to *(u)* form himself thereunto, and leadeth not his life after the desire of his own flesh, to serve the devil by sin, but setteth his mind to serve God for God's own sake, and for his sake also to love all his neighbours, whether they be friends or adversaries, doing good to every man, as opportunity serveth, and willingly hurting no man: such a man may well rejoyce in God, perceiving by the trade of his life, that he unfeignedly hath the right knowledge of God, a lively faith, a *(w)* constant hope, a true and unfeigned love and fear of God. But he that casteth away the yoke of God's commandments from his neck, and giveth himself to live without true repentance, after his own sensual mind and pleasure,

(s) Eccclus. i.

(u) frame.

(t) Eccclus xv.

(w) steadfast.

not regarding to know God's word, and much less to live according thereunto ; such a man clearly deceiveth himself, and seeth not his own heart, if he thinketh that he either knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, or trusteth in him. Some peradventure fantasy in themselves that they belong to God, although they live in sin, and so they come to the church, and shew themselves as God's dear children. But St. John saith plainly, (x) *If we say that we have any company with God, and walk in darkness, we do lie.* Others do vainly think that they know and love God, although they pass not of the commandments. But St. John saith clearly, (y) *He that saith, I know God, and keepeth not his commandments, he is a liar.* Some falsely persuade themselves, that they love God, when they hate their neighbours. But St. John saith manifestly, (z) *If any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar.* (a) *He that saith that he is in the light, and hateth his brother, he is still in darkness. He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light ; but he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth : for darkness hath blinded his eyes.* And moreover he saith, (b) *Hereby we*

(x) 1 John i.

(a) 1 John ii.

(y) Ibid. ii.

(b) Ibid. iii.

(z) Ibid. ii.

manifestly

manifestly know the children of God from the children of the devil. He that doth not righteously is not the child of God, nor he that hateth his brother.

Deceive not yourselves, therefore, thinking that you have Faith in God, or that you love God, or do trust in him, or do fear him, when you live in sin : for then your ungodly and sinful life declareth the contrary, whatsoever ye say or think. It pertaineth to a Christian man to have this true Christian Faith, and to try himself whether he hath it or no, and to know what belongeth to it, and how it doth work in him. It is not the world that we can trust to ; the world, and all that is therein, is but vanity. It is God that must be our defence and protection against all temptation of wickedness and sin, errors, superstition, idolatry, and all evil. If all the world were on our side, and God against us, what could the world avail us ? Therefore let us set our whole faith and trust in God, and neither the world, the devil, nor all the power of them shall prevail against us. Let us, therefore, good Christian people, try and examine our Faith what it is : let us not flatter ourselves, but look upon our Works, and so judge of our Faith what it is. Christ himself speaketh of this matter, and saith, (c) *The tree is known*

by the fruit. Therefore let us do Good Works, and thereby declare our Faith to be the lively Christian Faith. Let us, by such virtues as ought to spring out of Faith, shew our election to be sure and stable, as St. Peter teacheth, *(d) Endeavour yourselves to make your calling and election certain by Good Works.* And also he saith, *Minister or declare in your faith virtue, in virtue knowledge, in knowledge temperance, in temperance patience, in patience godliness, in godliness brotherly charity, in brotherly charity love:* so shall we shew indeed that we have the very lively Christian Faith, and may so both certify our conscience the better that we be in the right Faith, and also by these means confirm other men. If these fruits do not follow, we do but mock with God, deceive ourselves, and also other men. Well may we bear the name of Christian men, but we do lack the true Faith that doth belong thereunto: for true Faith doth ever bring forth Good Works, as St. James saith: *(e) Shew me thy Faith by thy deeds.* Thy deeds and works must be an open testimonial of thy Faith: otherwise thy Faith, being without Good Works, is but the devils' faith, the faith of the wicked, a fantasy of faith, and not a true Christian Faith. And like as the devils

(d) 2 Pet. i.*(e)* James ii.

and evil people be nothing the better for their counterfeit faith, but it is unto them the more cause of damnation : so they that be christened, and have received knowledge of God and of Christ's merits, and yet of a set purpose do live idly, without Good Works, thinking the name of a naked Faith to be either sufficient for them, or else setting their minds upon vain pleasures of this world, do live in sin without repentance, not uttering the fruits that do belong to such an high profession ; upon such presumptuous persons, and wilful sinners, must needs remain the great vengeance of God, and eternal punishment in hell, prepared for the (f) devil and wicked livers.

Therefore, as you profess the name of Christ, good Christian people, let no such fantasy and imagination of faith at any time beguile you ; but be sure of your faith ; try it by your living ; look upon the fruits that come of it ; mark the increase of love and charity by it towards God and your neighbour ; and so shall you perceive it to be a true lively Faith. If you feel and perceive such a Faith in you, rejoyce in it ; and be diligent to maintain it, and keep it still in you ; let it be daily increasing, and more and more by well working, and so shall ye be sure that you shall please God by this Faith ; and at the length, as other

(f) *unjust.*

faithful

faithful men have done before, so shall you, when his will is, come to him, and receive *the end and final reward of your Faith*, (g) as St. Peter nameth it, *the salvation of your souls*: the which God grant us, that hath promised the same unto his faithful; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

An Homily or Sermon of Good Works annexed unto Faith.

In the last Sermon was declared unto you, what the lively and true Faith of a Christian man is; that it causeth not a man to be idle, but to be occupied in bringing forth Good Works, as occasion serveth.

(h) Now, by God's grace, shall be declared the second thing that before was noted of Faith; that without it can no Good Work be done, acceptable and pleasant unto God; (i) *For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself*, saith our Saviour Christ, *except it abide in the vine; so cannot you, except you abide in me. I am the vine, and you be the branches: he that abideth in me, and*

(g) 1 Pet. i.

(h) No Good Work can be done without Faith.

(i) John xv.

I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit : for without me you can do nothing. And St. Paul proveth, that Enoch had Faith, because he pleased God ; (k) *For without Faith, saith he, it is not possible to please God.* And again, to the Romans he saith, (l) *Whatsoever work is done without Faith, it is sin.* Faith giveth life to the soul ; and they be as much dead to God that lack Faith, as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without Faith all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before man. Even as the picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life, or any manner of moving ; so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God : they do appear to be lively works, and indeed they be but dead, not availing to the (m) eternal life : they be but shadows and shews of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed : for true Faith doth give life to the works, and out of such Faith come Good Works, that be very good works indeed ; and without Faith no work is good before God, as saith St Augustine (n). We must set no Good Works before Faith, nor think that before Faith

(k) Heb. xi.

(l) Rom. xiv.

(m) *everlasting.*

(n) In Præfat. Psal. xxxi.

a man may do any any Good Work ; for such works, although they seem unto men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and not allowed before God. They be as the course of a horse that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labour, bnt to no purpose. Let no man, therefore, saith he, reckon upon his Good Works before his Faith ; whereas Faith was not, Good Works were not. The intent, saith he, maketh the Good Works ; bnt Faith must guide and order the intent of man. And Christ saith, (o) *If thine eye be naught, thy whole body is full of darkness.* The eye doth signify the intent, (p) saith St. Augustine, wherewith a man doth a thing : so that he which doth not his Good Works with a godly intent, and a true Faith that worketh by love ; the whole body beside, that is to say, all the whole number of his works is dark, and there is no light in them. For good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so discerned from vices ; but by the ends, and intents, for which they (q) be done. If a heathen man clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works ; yet because he doth them not in Faith for the honour and love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him. Faith is it that

(o) Matt; vi,

(p) In Præfat. Psal xxxi.

(q) were.

doth

doth commend the work to God : for, as St. Augustine saith, whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of Faith, is naught ; where the Faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no Good Work, what building soever we make. There is one work, in the which be all Good Works, that is Faith, which worketh by charity : if thou have it, thou hast the ground of all Good Works ; for the virtues of strength, wisdom, temperance, and justice, be all referred unto this same Faith. Without this Faith we have not them, but only the names and shadows of them : as St. Augustine saith, *All the life of them that lack the true Faith is sin, and nothing is good without him that is the Author of goodness : where he is not, there is but feigned virtue, although it be in the best works.* And St. Augustine, declaring this verse of the Psalm, *The turtle hath found a nest where she may keep her young birds,* saith, that *Jews, Hereticks, and Pagans do Good Works : they clothe the naked, feed the poor, and do other works of mercy : but because they be not done in the true Faith, therefore the birds be lost. But if they remain in Faith, then Faith is the nest and safeguard of their birds, that is to say, safeguard of their Good Works, that the reward of them be not utterly lost.* (r) And this matter

(r) De Vocatione Gentium, lib. i. c. 3.

(which

(which St. Augustine at large in many books disputeth) St. Ambrose concludeth in few words, saying, *He that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural will or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this life, and attaineth not the very true virtues ; for, without the worshipping of the true God, that which seemeth to be virtue is vice.* And yet most plainly to this purpose writeth St. John Chrysostom in this wise, (s) "*You shall find many which have not the true Faith, and be not of the flock of Christ, and yet, as it appeareth, they flourish in Good Works of mercy ; you shall find them full of pity, compassion, and given to justice ; and yet, for all that, they have no fruit of their works, because the chief work lacketh.* For when the Jews asked of Christ, what they should do to work Good Works, he answered, (t) *This is the work of God, to believe in him whom he hath sent :* so that he called Faith the work of God. And as soon as a man hath Faith, anon he shall flourish in Good Works ; for Faith of itself is full of Good Works, and nothing is good without Faith. And for a similitude, he saith, that *they which glister and shine in Good Works, without Faith in God, be like dead men,*

(s) In Sermone de Fide, Lege, et Spiritu Sancto.

(t) John vi.

which have goodly and precious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing. Faith may not be naked without Good Works; for then it is no (*u*) true Faith: and when it is adjoined to Works, yet it is above the Works. For as men, that be very men indeed, first have life, and after be nourished; so must our Faith in Christ go before, and after be nourished with Good Works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life. A man must needs be nourished by Good Works, but first he must have Faith. He that doth good deeds, yet without Faith, he hath no life. I can shew a man that by Faith without Works lived, and came to heaven: but without Faith, never man had life. The thief, that was hanged when Christ suffered, did believe only, and the most merciful God (*w*) did justify him. And because no man shall (*x*) object, that he lacked time to do Good Works, for else he would have done them; truth it is, and I will not contend therein: but this I will surely affirm, that Faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded Faith, and the Works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that Faith by itself saved him, but Works by themselves never justified any man."

(*u*) Some edit. omit *true*.

(*x*) say again.

(*w*) *justified*.

Here ye have heard the mind of St. Chrysostom, whereby you may perceive, that neither Faith is without Works, (having opportunity thereto,) nor Works can avail to (y) eternal life, without Faith.

(z) Now to proceed to the third part, (which in the former Sermon was noted of Faith,) that is, what manner of Works they be which spring out of true Faith, and lead faithful men unto (a) eternal life. This cannot be known so well as by our Saviour Christ himself, who was asked of a certain great man the same question; (b) *What works shall I do*, said a Prince, *to come to everlasting life?* To whom Jesus answered, *If thou wilt come to (c) the eternal life, keep the commandments.* But the Prince, not satisfied herewith, asked farther, Which commandments? The Scribes and Pharisees had so many of their own laws and traditions, to bring men to heaven, besides God's commandments, that this man was in doubt whether he should come to heaven by those laws and traditions, or by the Law of God; and therefore he asked Christ which commandments he meant. Whereunto Christ made him a plain answer, rehearsing the commandments of God, saying, *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear*

(y) *everlasting.* (z) What Works they are that spring of Faith.

(a) *everlasting.* (b) Matt. xix. (c) *everlasting.*

false

false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother, and love thy neighbour as thyself. (d) By which words Christ declared, that the laws of God be the very way that doth lead to (e) eternal life, and not the traditions and laws of men. So that this is to be taken for a most true lesson taught by Christ's own mouth, that the works of the moral commandments of God be the very true works of Faith, which lead to the blessed life to come. But the blindness and malice of man, even from the beginning, hath ever been ready to fall from God's commandments : (f) as Adam the first man, having but one commandment, that he should not eat of the fruit forbidden ; notwithstanding God's commandment, he gave credit unto the woman, seduced by the subtile persuasion of the serpent ; and so followed his own will, and left God's commandment.

And ever since that time, all (g) his succession hath been so blinded through Original Sin, that they have been ever ready to (h) decline from God and his Law, and to invent a new way unto salvation

(d) The works that lead to heaven, be the works of God's commandments.

(e) *everlasting.*

(f) Man from his first falling from God's commandments hath ever been ready to do the like, and to devise works of his own fantasy to please God withal.

(g) *that come of him.*

(h) *fall.*

by

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by works of their own device ; so much, that almost all the world, forsaking the true honour of the only eternal living God, wandered about their own fantasies, (*i*) worshipping some the sun, the moon, the stars ; some Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Saturnus, Apollo, Neptunus, Ceres, Bacchus, and other dead men and women ; some, therewith not satisfied, worshipping diverse kinds of beasts, birds, fish, fowl, and serpents : every (*k*) region, town, and house, in manner being divided, and setting up images of such things as they liked, and worshipping the same. Such was the rudeness of the people after they fell to their own fantasies, and left the eternal living God and his commandments, that they devised innumerable images and gods ; in which error and blindness they did remain, until such time as Almighty God, pitying the blindness of man, sent his true prophet Moses into the world, to (*l*) reprehend this extreme madness, and to teach the people to know the only living God, and his true honour and worship. But the corrupt inclination of man was so much given to follow his own fantasies, and, as you would say, to favour his own bird that he brought up himself, that all the admonitions, exhortations, benefits, and threatenings of God could not keep

(*i*) The devices and idolatry of the Gentiles.

(*k*) country.

(*l*) reprove and rebuke.

him

him from such his inventions. (*m*) For notwithstanding all the benefits of God shewed unto the people of Israel, yet when Moses went up into the mountain to speak with Almighty God, he had tarried there but a few days, when the people began to invent new gods: and as it came into their heads, they made a calf of gold, and kneeled, and worshipped it.

And after that they followed the Moabites, and worshipped Beelphegor, the Moabites' god. Read the book of Judges, the book of the Kings, and the Prophets; and there you shall find how (*n*) inconstant the people were, how full of inventions, and more ready to run after their own fantasies, than God's most holy commandments. There shall you read of Baal, Moloch, Chemos, Melchom, Baalpeor, Astaroth, Bel, the Dragon, Priapus, the brazen Serpent, the twelve Signs, and many other; unto whose images the people, with great devotion, invented pilgrimages, (*o*) precious decking and censing them, kneeling down and offering to them; thinking that an high merit before God, and to be esteemed above the precepts and commandments of God. And where, at that time, God commanded no sacrifice to be made but in

(*m*) The devices and idolatries of the Israelites. Exod. xxxii.

(*n*) *unsteadfast*.

(*o*) Some edit. corruptly read *precious* decking, &c.

Jerusalem only, they did clean contrary, making altars and sacrifices every where, in hills, in woods, and in houses; not regarding God's commandments, but esteeming their own fantasies and devotion to be better than them. And the error hereof was so spread abroad, that not only the unlearned people, but also the priests and teachers of the people, partly by [vain] glory and (*p*) avarice were corrupted, and partly by ignorance blindly (*q*) seduced with the same abominations; so much, that king Achab having but only Helias a true teacher and minister of God, there were eight hundred and fifty priests that persuaded him to honour Baal, and to do sacrifice in the woods or groves. And so continued that horrible error, until the three noble kings, as Josaphat, Ezechias, and Josias, God's (*r*) elect ministers, destroyed the same clearly, and (*s*) reduced the people, from such their feigned inventions, unto the very commandments of God: for the which thing their immortal reward, and glory, doth and shall remain with God for ever.

(*t*) And beside the foresaid inventions, the inclination of man to have his own holy devotions devised new sects and religions, called Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes, with many holy and godly traditions

(*p*) covetousness.

(*q*) deceived.

(*r*) chosen.

(*s*) brought again.

(*t*) Religions and sects among the Jews.
and

and ordinances, (as it seemed by the outward appearance and goodly glistering of the works,) but in very deed all tending to idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy; their hearts within being full of malice, pride, covetousness, and all (*u*) iniquity. Against which sects, and their pretended holiness, Christ cried out more vehemently than he did against any other persons; saying, and often (*w*) repeating these words: (*x*) *Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites! for you make clean the vessel without, but within you be full of ravin and filthiness: Thou blind Pharisee and hypocrite! first make the inward part clean.* For notwithstanding all the goodly traditions and outward shews of Good Works devised of their own imagination, whereby they appeared to the world most religious and holy of all men; yet Christ, who saw their hearts, knew that they were inwardly, in the sight of God, most unholy, most abominable, and farthest from God of all men. Therefore said he unto them, (*y*) *Hypocrites, the Prophet Isaiah spake full truly of you, when he said, (z) This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain that teach doctrines and commandments of*

(*u*) *wickedness.*

(*y*) *Matt. xv.*

(*w*) *rehearsing.*

(*z*) *Isai. xix.*

(*x*) *Matt. xxiii.*

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men : for you leave the commandments of God to
keep your own traditions.

And though Christ said, *They worship God in vain that teach doctrines and commandments of men ;* (a) yet he meant not thereby to overthrow all men's commandments ; for he himself was ever obedient to the princes and their laws, made for good order and governance of the people : but he reproved the laws and traditions made by the Scribes and Pharisees, which were not made only for good order of the people, (as the civil laws were,) but they were (b) so highly extolled, that they were made to be right and (c) sincere worshipping of God, as they had been equal with God's laws, or above them : for many of God's laws could not be kept, but were fain to give place unto them. This arrogancy God detested, that man should so advance his laws to make them equal with God's laws, wherein the true honouring and right worshipping of God standeth, and to make his laws for them to be (d) omitted. God hath appointed his laws, whereby his pleasure is to be honoured. His pleasure is also, that all man's laws, not being contrary unto his laws, shall be obeyed and kept,

(a) Man's laws must be observed and kept, but not as God's laws.

(b) set up so high.

(c) pure.

(d) left off.

as

as good and necessary for every commonweal, but not as things wherein principally his honour resteth: and all civil and man's laws either be or should be made, to *(e)* induce men the better to keep God's laws, that *(f)* consequently God should be the better honoured by them. Howbeit, the Scribes and Pharisees were not content that their laws should be no higher esteemed than other positive and civil laws; *(g)* nor would not have them called by the name of other temporal laws; but called them *(h)* holy and godly traditions, and would have them esteemed not only for a right and true worshipping of God, as God's laws be indeed, but also *(i)* to be the most high honouring of God, to the which the commandments of God should give place. And for this cause did Christ so vehemently speak against them, saying, *Your traditions, which men esteem so high, be abomination before God: (k)* for commonly of such traditions, followeth the transgression or breaking of God's commandments, and a more devotion in keeping of such things, and a greater conscience in breaking of them, than of the commandments

(e) bring in. *(f)* "consequently, or followingly."

(g) nor would they have been.

(h) Holy traditions were esteemed as God's laws.

(i) for.

(k) Holiness of man's device is commonly occasion that God is offended. Mat. xii.

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of God. As the Scribes and Pharisees so superstitiously and scrupulously kept the sabbath, that they were offended with Christ because he healed sick men ; and with his Apostles, because they, being sore hungry, gathered the ears of corn to eat upon that day : and because his disciples washed not their hands so often as the traditions required, the Scribes and Pharisees quarrelled with Christ, saying, (l) *Why do thy disciples break the traditions of the seniours ?* But Christ (m) objected against them, that they, for to (n) observe their own traditions, did teach men to break the very commandments of God : for they taught the people such a devotion, that they offered their goods into the treasure-house of the Temple, under the pretence of God's honour, leaving their fathers and mothers, to whom they were chiefly bound, unholpen ; and so they brake the commandments of God, to keep their own traditions. They esteemed more an oath made by the gold or oblation in the Temple, than an oath made in the name of God himself, or of the Temple. They were more studious to pay their tithes of small things, than to do the greater things commanded of God, as works of mercy, or to do justice, or to deal sincerely, uprightly, and faithfully, with God and man : (o) *These, saith Christ, ought to be done, and the other not*

(l) Matt. xv.

(m) *laid to their charge.*

(n) *keep.*

(o) Matt. xxiii.

omitted.

(*p*) *omitted*. And, to be short, they were of so blind judgement, that they stumbled at a straw, and leaped over a block ; they would, as it were, nicely take a fly out of their cup, and drink down a whole camel ; and therefore Christ called them *blind guides*, warning his disciples, from time to time, to eschew their doctrine. For although they seemed to the world to be most perfect men, both in living and teaching, yet was their life but hypocrisy, and their doctrine but sour leaven, mingled with superstition, idolatry, and (*q*) preposterous judgement ; setting up the traditions and ordinances of man, in the stead of God's commandments.

Thus have you heard how much the world, from the beginning until Christ's time, was ever ready to fall from the commandments of God, and to seek other means to honour and serve him, after a devotion (*r*) imagined of their own heads ; and how they (*s*) extolled their own traditions as high or above God's commandments ; which hath happened also in our times (the more it is to be lamented) no less than it did among the Jews, and that by the corruption, or at least by the negligence, of them that chiefly ought to have preferred God's commandments, and to have preserved the (*t*) sincere and heavenly doctrine left by Christ. What man, having any

(*p*) *left undone.*

(*q*) *overthwart.*

(*r*) *found out.*

(*s*) *did set up.*

(*t*) *pure.*

judgement

judgement or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Never had the Jews in their most blindness so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censing of them, as hath been used in our time. . (u) Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late days they have been among us : which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of religion, as most ungodly and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people ; keeping in diverse places, as it were, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relicks, images, shrines, and works of (w) supererogation, ready to be sold ; and all things which they had were called holy ; holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, holy beads, holy shoes, holy rules ; and all full of

(u) Sects and religions amongst Christian men.

(w) *overflowing abundance.*

holiness ! And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence ? or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in hope thereby to be saved ? Which superstition, although (thanks be to God) it hath been little used in this realm, yet in diverse other realms it hath been and yet is used among many, both learned and unlearned. But, to pass over the innumerable superstitiousness that hath been in strange apparel, in silence, in dormitory, in cloister, in chapter, in choice of meats and drinks, and in such like things ; let us consider what enormities and abuses have been in the three chief principal points, which they called the three essentials, or three chief foundations of religion ; that is to say, obedience, chastity, and wilful poverty.

First, (x) under pretence or colour of obedience to their father in religion, (which obedience they made themselves,) they were (y) exempted, by their rules and canons, from the obedience of their natural father and mother, and from the obedience of emperor and king, and all temporal power, whom of very duty by God's laws they were bound to obey. And so the profession of their

(x) The three chief vows of religion.

(y) *made free.*

obedience

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obedience not due was a (z) renunciation of their due obedience.

And how their profession of chastity was (a) observed, it is more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the world judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words, by expressing of their unchaste life, to offend chaste and godly ears.

And as for their wilful poverty, it was such, that when in possessions, jewels, plate, and riches, they were equal or above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls, and dukes; yet by this subtile sophistical term *Proprium in (b) communi*, they (c) deluded the world; persuading, that notwithstanding all their possessions and riches, yet they (d) observed their vow, and were in wilful poverty. But for all their riches, they might neither help father or mother, nor other that were indeed very needy and poor, without the licence of their father abbot, prior, or warden; and yet they might take of every man; but they might not give aught to any man; no, not to them whom the laws of God bound them to help: And so, through their traditions and rules, the laws of God could bear no rule with them: and therefore of them might be most truly said that which Christ spake unto the Pharisees, (e) *You break the commandments of God by your traditions: you honour God with your lips,*

(z) *forsaking.*

(a) *kept.*

(b) Later edit. add "that is to say, *Proper in common.*"

(c) *mocked.*

(d) *kept.*

(e) Matt. xv.

but

but your hearts be far from him. And the longer prayers they used by day and by night, under (f) pretence of such holiness, to get the favour of widows and other simple folks, that they might sing trentals and service for their husbands and friends, and (g) admit them into their suffrages; the more truly is verified of them the saying of Christ, (h) Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you devour widows' houses under colour of long prayers; therefore your damnation shall be the greater. Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you go about by sea and by land to make more novices, and new brethren; and when they be (i) admitted of your sect, you make them the children of hell worse than yourselves be.

Honour be to God, who did put light in the heart of his faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry the eighth; and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away all such superstitious and Pharisaical sects, by Antichrist invented, and set up (k) against the true word of God

(f) "pretence or colour."

(g) "admit or receive them into their prayers."

(h) Matt. xxiii. (i) be let in and received.

(k) Several editions read "and set up *again* the true word," &c. The reading of Archbishop Cranmer is *against*. The edition of 1562 reads, like the modern, *again*; that of 1595, *against*. The Saxon *agen* and the old English *again* have indeed the meaning of *against*, in opposition to, and therefore countenance *again*; but the original reading makes the passage at once perspicuous.

and

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and glory of his most blessed name; as he gave the like spirit unto the most noble and famous princes, Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias. God grant all us, the King's Highness' faithful and true subjects, to feed of the sweet and savoury bread of God's own word, and (as Christ commanded) to eschew all our Pharisaical and Papistical leaven of man's feigned religion: which, although it were before God most abominable, and contrary to God's commandments and Christ's pure religion, yet it was (*l*) extolled to be a most godly life, and highest state of perfection: as though a man might be more godly, and more perfect, by keeping the rules, traditions, and professions of men, than by keeping the holy commandments of God. (*m*) And briefly to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religions, let us rehearse some other kinds of Papistical superstitions and abuses; as of beads, of lady psalters, and rosaries, of fifteen oes, of St. Bernard's verses, of St. Agathe's letters; of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of feigned relicks; of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire, and such other; of superstitious fastings; of (*n*) fraternities; of pardons, with such like merchandise; which were so esteemed and abused to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high and

(*l*) *praised.*

(*m*) Other devices and superstitions.

(*n*) "*fraternities or brotherhoods.*"

most holy things, whereby to attain to the (o) eternal life, or remission of sin : Yea, also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, (p) decrees, and councils of Rome, were in such wise advanced, that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning, and godliness, unto them ; so that the laws of Rome, as they said, were to be received of all men as the four Evangelists ; to the which all laws of princes must give place : And the laws of God also partly were (q) omitted and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly kept, and had in greater reverence.

Thus was the people through ignorance so blinded with the goodly shew and appearance of those things, that they thought the keeping of them to be a more holiness, a more perfect service and honouring of God, and more pleasing to God, than the keeping of God's commandments. Such hath been the corrupt inclination of man, ever superstitiously given to make new honouring of God of his own head, and then to have more affection and devotion to (r) observe that, than to search out God's holy commandments, and to keep them ; and furthermore, to take God's commandments for men's commandments, and men's commandments for God's

(o) *everlasting.*

(p) *Decrees and decretals.*

(q) *left off.*

(r) *keep*

command-

commandments, yea, and for the highest and most perfect and holy of all God's commandments. And so was all confused, that scant well-learned men, and but a small number of them, knew or at the least would know, and durst affirm the truth, to (s) separate God's commandments from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow much error, superstition, idolatry, vain religion, (t) preposterous judgement, great contention, with all ungodly living.

(u) Wherefore, as you have any zeal to the right and pure honouring of God ; as you have any regard to your own souls, and to the life that is to come, which is both without pain and without end ; apply yourselves chiefly, above all things, to read and to hear God's word ; mark diligently therein what his will is you shall do, and with all your endeavour apply yourselves to follow the same. First, (w) you must have an assured Faith in God, and give yourselves wholly unto him ; love him in prosperity and adversity ; and dread to offend him evermore : Then, for his sake, love all men, friends and foes, because they be his creation and image, and redeemed by Christ, as ye are. Cast in your minds,

(s) " separate or sever."

(t) *overthwart*.

(u) An exhortation to the keeping of God's commandments.

(w) A brief rehearsal of God's commandments.

how

how you may do good unto all men unto your powers, and hurt no man. Obey all your superiors and governors ; serve your masters faithfully and diligently, as well in their absence as in their presence, not for dread of punishment only, but for conscience sake, knowing that you are bound so to do by God's commandments. Disobey not your fathers and mothers, but honour them, help them, and please them to your power. Oppress not, kill not, beat not, neither slander, nor hate any man ; but love all men ; speak well of all men ; help and succour every man as you may, yea, even your enemies that hate you, that speak evil of you, and that do hurt you. Take no man's goods, nor covet your neighbour's goods wrongfully ; but content yourselves with that which ye get truly ; and also bestow your own goods charitably, as need and case requireth. Flee all idolatry, witchcraft, and perjury ; commit no manner of adultery, fornication, nor other unchasteness, in will nor in deed, with any other man's wife, widow, maid, or otherwise. And travelling continually (during your life) thus in (x) the observing the commandments of God, (wherein (y) consisteth the pure, principal, and (z) direct honour of God, and which wrought in Faith God hath ordained to be the right trade and path-way unto heaven,) you shall not fail, as Christ hath promised, to

(x) *keeping.*

(y) *standeth.*

(z) *right.*

come

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come to that blessed and (a) eternal life, where you shall live in glory and joy with God for ever : to whom be (b) laud, honour, and impery, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(a) *everlasting.*

(b) *praise.*

FROM

(c) FROM THE REFORMATIO LEGUM ECCLESIASTICARUM, EX AUTHORITY PRIMUM REGIS HENRICI VIII. INCHOATA; DEINDE PER REGEM EDWARDUM VI. PROVECTA, ADAUCTAQUE IN HUNC MODUM, &c. FINISHED, 1552.

(d) *De Christo et Mysteriis nostræ Redemptionis.*

CREDATUR, cùm venisset plenitudo temporis, Filium, qui est Verbum Patris, in utero beatæ Virginis Mariæ ex ipsius carnis substantiâ naturam humanam assumpsisse, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integrè atque perfectè in unitate personæ fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ; ex quibus unus est Christus, verus Deus et verus homo; qui verè passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus; descendit ad inferos, ac tertiâ die resurrexit; nobisque per suum sanguinem reconciliavit Patrem, sese hostiam offerens non solùm pro Culpâ Originis, verùm etiam pro omnibus peccatis quæ homines propriâ voluntate adjecerunt.

(c) Published in 4to. 1571. Again, 1640.

(d) De Sum. Trin. et Fide Catholicâ, cap. 3.

De

(c) *De Peccato Originis, Libero Arbitrio, et Justificatione.*

In labe peccati ex ortu nostro contractâ, quam Vitium Originis appellamus, primùm quidẽ Pelagianorum, deinde etiam Anabaptistarum, nobis vitandus et submovendus est error; quorum in eo consensus contra veritatem sacrarum Scripturarum est, quòd Peccatum Originis in Adamo solo hæserit, et non ad posteros transierit, nec ullam afferat naturæ nostræ perversitatem, nisi quòd ex Adam delicto propositum sit peccandi noxium exemplum, quod homines ad eandem pravitatem invitat imitandam et usurpandam. Et similiter nobis contra illos progrediendum est, qui tantum in Libero Arbitrio roboris et nervorum ponunt, ut eo solo, sine aliâ speciali Christi gratiâ, rectè ab hominibus vivi posse constituunt. Deinde nec illi sunt audiendi, quorum impietas salutare et in sacris Scripturis fundatam Justificationis nostræ doctrinam oppugnant, in quâ tenendum est, non operum momentis justitiam hominum collocari.

(c) *De Hæresibus, cap. 7.**De*

*(f) De Perfectione Justificatorum, et de Operibus
Supererogationis.*

Illorum etiam superbia legibus nostris est frangenda, qui tantam vitæ perfectionem hominibus justificatis attribuunt, quantam nec imbecillitas nostræ naturæ fert, nec quisquam sibi præter Christum sumere potest; nimirum ut omnis peccati sint expertes, si mentem ad rectè pièque vivendum instituerint. Et hanc volunt absolutam morum perfectionem in hanc præsentem vitam cadere, cum debilis ipsa sit, et fragilis, et ad omnes virtutis et officii ruinas præceps. Tum et illorum arrogantia comprimenda est, et autoritate legum domanda, qui Supererogationis Opera quædam importaverunt, quibus existimant non solum cumulatè Dei legibus et expletè satisfieri, sed aliquid etiam in illis amplius superesse quàm Dei mandata postulent, undè et sibi mereri et aliis merita applicare possint.

*(g) De Casu Justificatorum, et Peccato in Spiritum
Sanctum.*

Etiam illi de justificatis perversè sentiunt, qui credunt illos, postquam justi sæmel facti sunt, in

(f) De Hæresibus, cap. 8.

I

(g) De Hæresibus, cap. 9.

peccatum

peccatum non posse incidere ; aut si fortè quicquam eorum faciunt quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere. Quibus opinione contrarii, sed impietate pares sunt, qui quodcunque peccatum mortale quod post Baptismum à nobis susceptum voluntate nostrâ committitur, illud omne contra Spiritum Sanctum affirmant gestum esse, et remitti non posse.

(h) De Baptismo.

Deinde crudelis illorum impietas in Baptismum irruit, quem infantibus impartiri nolunt, sed omninò nullâ ratione. Nec enim minùs ad Deum et Ecclesiam pertinent Christianorum infantes, quàm liberi quondam Hebræorum pertinebant, quibus in infantia cum circumcisio adhiberetur, nostris etiam infantibus debet Baptismus admoveri, quoniam ejusdem promissionis et fœderis divini participes sunt, et à Christo summâ cum humanitate suscepti. Plures item ab aliis cumulantur errores in Baptismo, quem aliqui sic attoniti spectant, ut ab ipso illo externo credant elemento Spiritum Sanctum emergere, vimque ejus, nomen, et virtutem ex quâ recreamur, et Gratiani, et reliqua ex eo proficis-

gentia dona, in ipsis Baptismi fonticulis innatare. In summa, totam Regenerationem nostram illi sacro puteo deberi volunt, qui in sensus nostros incurrit. Verum salus animarum, instauratio Spiritus, et beneficium adoptionis quo nos Deus pro filiis agnoscit, à misericordiâ divinâ per Christum ad nos dimanante, tum etiam ex promissione sacris in Scripturis apparente, proveniunt. Illorum etiam impia videri debet scrupulosa superstitio, qui Dei Gratiam, et Spiritum Sanctum, tantoperè cum Sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut planè affirment nullum Christianorum infantem æternam salutem esse consequuturum, qui prius à morte fuerit occupatus quàm ad Baptismum adduci potuerit : quod longè secus habere judicamus. Salus enim illis solùm adimitur, qui sacrum hunc Baptismi fortem contemnunt, aut superbiâ quâdam ab eo, vel contumaciâ, resiliunt : quæ importunitas cùm in puerorum ætatem non cadat, nihil contra salutem illorum autoritate Scripturarum decerni potest ; immo contrâ, cùm illos communis promissio pueros in se comprehendat, optima nobis spes de illorum salute concipienda est.

(i) De Prædestinatione.

Ad extremum, in ecclesiâ multi feris et dissol-

(i) De Hæresibus, cap. 22.

lutis moribus vivunt, qui cùm re ipsâ curiosi sint, differti luxu, et à Christi Spiritu prorsus alieni, semper Prædestinationem, et Rejectionem, vel, ut usitatè loquuntur, Reprobationem jactant, ut, cùm æterno consilio Deus vel de salute vel de interitu aliquid certi constituerit, inde latebram suis maleficiis, et sceleribus, et omnis generis perversitati quærant. Et cùm pastores dissipatam illorum et flagitiosam vitam coarguunt, in voluntatem Dei criminum suorum culpam conferunt, et hâc defensione profligatas admonitorum repræhensiones existimant; ac ita tandem, duce diabolo, vel in desperationem præsentem abjiciuntur præcipites, vel ad solutam quandam et mollem vitæ securitatem, sine aut pænientiâ aut scelerum conscientiâ, dilabuntur. Quæ duo mala disparem naturam, sed finem videntur eundem habere. Nos verò, sacris Scripturis eruditi, talem in hâc re doctrinam ponimus, quod diligens et accurata cogitatio de Prædestinatione nostrâ et Electione suscepta (*k*) sit

(*k*) *Sit* is wanting in the first edition of the Reformatio, 1571. It is added by the editor of the second, 1640, "The sentence breaks off abruptly with the word *suscepta*; but *sit* by no means makes up the deficiency. The parenthesis immediately following expresses the same that our 17th Article does in the beginning of the definition; and the next sentence, *Hæc itaque*, &c. refers to what they had before defined." See Dr. Winchester's Dissert. on the 17th Article, §. 3.

(*de*

(de quibus Dei voluntate determinatum fuit antequam mundi fundamenta jacerentur.) Hæc itaque diligens et seria, quam diximus, his de rebus cogitatio piorum hominum animos Spiritu Christi afflatos, et carnis et membrorum subjectionem præsentis, et ad cælestia sursum tendentes, dulcissimâ quâdam et jucundissimâ consolatione permulcet; quoniam Fidem nostram de perpetuâ salute per Christum ad nos perventurâ confirmat, vehementissimas charitatis in Deum flammias accendit, mirabiliter ad gratias agendas exuscitat, ad Bonos Opera propinquissimè adducit, et à peccatis longissimè abducit, quoniam à Deo sumus electi, et filii ejus instituti: quæ singularis et eximia conditio summam à nobis salubritatem morum, et excellentissimam virtutis perfectionem, requirit. Denique nobis arrogantiam minuit, ne viribus nostris geri credamus, quæ gratuitâ Dei beneficiâ et infinitâ bonitate indulgentur. Præterea neminem ex hoc loco purgationem censemus vitiorum suorum afferre posse, quia Deus nihil ullâ in re constituit, nec ad peccata voluntates nostras unquam invitas trudit. Quapropter omnes nobis admonendi sunt, ut in actionibus suscipiendis ad decreta Prædestinationis se non referant, sed universam vitæ suæ rationem ad Dei Leges accomodent, cum et promissiones bonis, et minas malis, in sacris Scripturis generaliter propositas

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contemplantur. Debemus enim ad Dei cultum
viis illis ingredi, et in illâ Dei voluntate com-
morari, quam in Sacris Scripturis patefactam esse
videmus.

(l) THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION, WHICH RELATE TO THE SUBJECTS IN THE PRECEDING DECLARATIONS. 1552. COLLATED WITH THOSE IN THE PRESENT THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

(m) *That the Word, or Son of God, was made very man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed

(l) Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned men, in the last Convocation at London, in the year of our Lord 1552, to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion. Published by the King's Majesty's authority, 1553. Imprinted at London by John Day. Reprinted by Bishop Sparrow, in his Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. 1661. And by Collier, in his Eccl. Hist. Bishop Burnet has also printed the Articles of 1552, in his Hist. of the Reform. P. II. Records, B. I. No. 55. They have many verbal variations from those printed by Sparrow and Collier; which I shall exhibit in those Articles that relate to the present work. Grafton's copy of 1553 has also some verbal variations.

(m) Burnet reads, *The Word of God made very man*; Grafton, "*a very man*;" our present Article, *Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very man*. This is the SECOND ARTICLE among those of 1552 and the present. The present adds, after *The Son, which is the Word of the Father*, "*begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father,*" took, &c.

Virgin

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Virgin (n) *Mary*, of her substance ; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the God-head and manhood, were joined together (o) *into* one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man ; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice (p) *for all sin of man, both original and actual.*

(n) The word *Mary* is not in Burnet, nor in the present Article.

(o) Burnet, and the present Article, *in.*

(p) Burnet, and the present Article, *not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.* Bennet, in his Essay on the 39 Articles, notices two editions of the Articles in English, which, though not dated, he concludes, with good reason, to have been printed before 1571. See the Ess. p. 41, et seq. p. 288, et seq. p. 304. He further observes, that before 1571, the Convocation did not prepare or pass any English translation of the Latin Articles agreed on in 1562 ; but that the English manuscript, preserved in the Library of Benet College, Cambridge, signed by eleven bishops on the 11th of May in that year, shews that such translation had been under their consideration ; that this manuscript minutely agrees with the printed copies aforementioned ; and that the authentick translation of 1571 was begun upon the ground-work of the old one, namely, that of the printed copies, which he pronounces, "made by a private hand." It is remarkable, that he should have overlooked the frequent agreement of this translation, with that of the Articles in 1552. These old copies here read, *for all sin, both original and actual*

Original

(r) *Of Original or Birth Sin.*

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk, (s) *which also the Anabaptists do nowadays renew,*) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from (t) *his former righteousness which he had at his creation,* and is of his own nature (u) *given to evil*; so that the flesh (w) *desireth* always contrary to the spirit; and therefore, in every person born in this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are (x) *baptized*; whereby the lust of the

(r) This is the EIGHTH among the Art. of 1552; and the NINTH among the present.

(s) Burnet, *and as at this day is affirmed by some Anabaptists.* The present Article wholly omits this.

(t) Burnet, *gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature, &c.* So the present Article. Those printed before 1571, agree with the above of 1552.

(u) Burnet, *inclined.* So the present Article. The edit. before 1571, *given.*

(w) Burnet and the present Article, *lusteth.* The edit. before 1571, *desireth.*

(x) Burnet and the present Article, *regenerated.* The edit. before 1571, *baptized.*

flesh,

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flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some (*y*) *the* sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence, and lust, hath of itself the nature of sin.

(*z*) *Of Free-Will.*

We have no power to do Good Works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working (*a*) *in* us when we have that will.

(*b*) *Of Grace.*

The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost

(*y*) Burnet and the present Article omit *the*.

(*z*) Art. IX. 1552. Present Art. X. The present Article prefixes, "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God." Wherefore, &c.

(*a*) Burnet and the present Article *with*. The edit. before 1571, *in*.

(*b*) This Article of 1552 is not inserted among the present Articles.

(*c*) *by*

(c) *by him given*, doth take away the stony heart. and giveth an heart of flesh. And (d) *although those that have no will to do good things he maketh them to will, and those that would evil things he maketh them not to will; the same; yet nevertheless he enforceth not the will:* and therefore no man, when he sinneth, can excuse himself (e) *as not worthy to be blamed, or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillingly or by compulsion.*

(f) Of the Justification of Men.

Justification by (g) only Faith in Jesus

(c) *Burnet, which is given by him.*

(d) *Burnet, though it rendereth us willing to do those good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works which before we did; yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man: so that no man, &c.*

(e) *Burnet, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.*

(f) *Art. XI. both in those of 1552 and the present. The present Article is as follows: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; as is more largely expressed in the Homily of Justification."*

(g) *Burnet, faith only.*

Christ,

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Christ, in that sense (*h*) as it is declared in the (*i*) Homily of Justification, is (*k*) *a most certain* and (*l*) *wholesome* doctrine for (*m*) *Christian men*.

(*n*) *Works before Justification.*

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: (*o*) *but, because* they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

(*p*) *Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary Works besides, over and above God's

(*h*) Burnet, *wherein*.

(*i*) That is, the Homily on Salvation; which see in the present work, and the note at the beginning, p. 47.

(*k*) Burnet, *the*.

(*l*) Burnet, "most certain and *most* wholesome;" the present Article, "*is a most* wholesome doctrine, &c."

(*m*) Burnet, *a Christian man*.

(*n*) Art. XII. 1552. Art. XIII. the present.

(*o*) Burnet and the present Article, *yea, rather, for that*, The edit. before 1571, *but because*.

(*p*) Art. XIII. 1552. Art. XIV, the present.

commandments,

commandments; which they call Works of Supplication, cannot be taught without arrogancy and (q) *iniquity*. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render to God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded (r) *you*, say, We (s) *be* unprofitable servants.

(t) *No man is without sin, but Christ alone.*

Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only (u) *except*, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be (w) *the* Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself (x) *made*

(q) Burnet and the present Article, *impiety*.

(r) Burnet and the present Article, *to you*.

(s) Burnet and the present Article, *are*.

(t) Art. XIV. 1552. Art. XV. the present. The title of our present Article is, *Of Christ alone without sin*. Burnet's copy, *None but Christ without sin*.

(u) Burnet, *excepted*.

(w) Burnet, *a Lamb*.

(x) Burnet and the present Article, *once made*, without the words, *for ever*.

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once for ever, should take away the sins of the world: and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. (y) *But the rest, yea although we be baptized and born again in Christ, yet we offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*

(z) *Of Sin against the Holy Ghost.*

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the (a) *place for penitents* is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place

(y) Burnet, *But all we the rest, although baptized and born in Christ, yet offend, &c.* The present Article the same, except adding, after "born," again.

(z) Art. XV. 1552. Art. XVI. the present. The title of the present Article, *Of Sin after Baptism*: Burnet's copy, *Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost*. Grafton's copy begins thus, "Every deadlie sinne, willinglie committed after Baptisme, is not sinne against," &c.

(a) Burnet and the present Article, *grant of repentance*: The edit. before 1571, *place for penitence*.

for

for (b) penitents to such as truly repent (c) and amend their lives.

(d) *Of Predestination and Election.*

Predestination (e) to life is the everlasting (f) purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his own judgement secret (g) to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen (h) out of mankind, and to bring them (i) to everlasting salvation by Christ, as vessels made to honour. (k) Whereupon such as have so excellent a benefit of God (l) given unto

(b) Burnet, of penance. Present Article, of forgiveness.

(c) Burnet and the present Article, have not and amend their lives. The edit. before 1571 have.

(d) Art. XVII. both in 1552 and in the present.

(e) Burnet, unto.

(f) Burnet and the present Article, counsel.

(g) Burnet, unto.

(h) Present Article, before out, "in Christ."

(i) Burnet and the present Article, by Christ to everlasting salvation.

(k) Burnet and the present Article, Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent, &c. The edit. before 1571 read as above, Whereupon, &c.

(l) Burnet and the present Article, have not the words, given unto them. The edit. before 1571 have.

them,

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them, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling; they be justified freely; they (*m*) be made sons (*n*) by adoption; they (*o*) be made like the image of (*p*) God's only begotten (*q*) Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and (*r*) our Election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members; and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things; as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have con-

(*m*) Burnet, *are*.

(*n*) Burnet, *of*. The present Article, *by*, with the words "of God," preceding it.

(*o*) Burnet, *are*.

(*p*) Burnet, "the image of *the* only, &c. and the present Article, "the image of *his* only, &c.

(*q*) Burnet has not the word *Son*.

(*r*) Burnet has not the word *our*.

tinually

tinually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil (*s*) *may* thrust them either into desperation, or into (*t*) *wretchlessness* of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, (*u*) *although* the decrees of Predestination *are* unknown to us, yet we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be (*w*) generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

(x) Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but

(*s*) Burnet and the present Article, *doth*.

(*t*) *Recklessness*, i. e. recklessness, carelessness; the true word, and so written in the old copies; corrupted into *wretchlessness* in later editions, as Burnet writes it.

(*n*) Burnet, "*though* the decrees of predestination *be* unknown to us." This passage is omitted in the present Article.

(*w*) See the conclusion of the chapter *De Prædestinatione* in the Ref. Legum. Eccl. p. 117, of the present compilation, "Quapropter omnes, &c.

(*x*) Art. XXVIII. 1552: Present Art. XXVII.

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it is also a (y) *sign and seal of our new birth*, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church ; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption (z) *to be the sons of God*, are visibly signed and sealed ; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. The custom of the Church (a) *to christen* young children (b) *is to be commended*, and (c) *in any wise to be retained* in the Church.

(d) *Of the perfect Oblation of Christ made upon the Cross.*

The offering of Christ, (e) *made once for ever*,

(y) Burnet and present Article, *a sign of regeneration or new birth*. The edit. before 1571, *sign and seal of our new birth*.

(z) Burnet and the present Article, *to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost*.

(a) Burnet, *for baptizing*. This sentence stands in the present Article thus : " The Baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

(b) Burnet, " *is both to be, &c.*"

(c) Burnet, *by all means*.

(d) Art. XXX. 1552. Art. XXXI. the present: Burnet and present Article, *Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross*.

(e) Burnet and present Article, *once made*.

is (f) *the* perfect redemption, (g) *the* pacifying of God's displeasure, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual ; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in (h) *the* which it was commonly said, that the (i) *priest* did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or (k) *sin*, were (l) *forged* fables and dangerous deceits.

(f) Burnet, *a* perfect, &c. Present Article, *that* perfect, &c.

(g) Burnet and present Article, *propitiation*. The edit. before 1571, as above.

(h) Burnet has not the word *the*.

(i) Burnet, *priests*.

(k) Burnet and the present Article, *guilt*.

(l) Burnet, *were fables and dangerous deceits*. Present Article, *were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits*. The edit. before 1571, as above.

From the CATECHISMUS BREVIS CHRISTIANÆ
DISCIPLINÆ SUMMAM CONTINENS, OMNIBUS
LUDIMAGISTRIS AUTHORITATE REGIA COM-
MENDATUS. HUIC CATECHISMO ADJUNCTI
SUNT ARTICULI DE QUIBUS IN ULTIMO SY-
NODO LONDINENSI, ANNO DOMINI, 1552,
AD TOLLENDAM OPINIONUM DISSENSI-
ONEM, ET CONSENSUM VERÆ RELIGIONIS FIRMAN-
DUM, INTER EPISCOPOS ET ALIOS ERUDITOS
ATQUE PIOS VIROS CONVENERAT, &c. 1553.

(*m*) IMAGO Dei in homine per Peccatum
Originis, et consuetudinem malam, adeò in initio
obscurata est, et iudicium naturale adeò vitiatum,
ut homo ipse non satis intelligat honestum turpi
quid intersit, nec justum injusto. Eam itaque
imaginem volens benignus Deus in nobis renovare
per legem in tabulis descriptam, effecit primùm ut
nos ipsos agnosceremus, et in ea, perinde atque in
speculo, contueremur sordes et maculas nostri
animi, et præfractam cordis vitii duritiem, ut vel
sic tandem peccato agnito, et perspectâ nostræ
carnis infirmitate atque irâ sævientis in nos Dei

(*m*) Sign. b. ii. b. et seq.

ob

ob peccatum, ardentius desideraremus Servatorem nostrum Christum Jesum, qui morte suâ, et preciosâ sanguinis sui aspersione, purgavit et abluit peccata nostra. Placavit enim iram Omnipotentis Patris, atque sacrosancto sui Spiritûs afflatu animos in nobis creat novos, mentesquè renovat ad imaginem et similitudinem sui Creatoris in justitiâ et sanctitate veritatis; quam rem nec justitia legis, nec ulla sacrificia Mosaica poterant efficere. Quòd autem nullus ex lege justificetur, patet non inde solùm quoniam justus ex Fide vivit, sed hinc etiam quòd nullus vivit mortalium, qui potest ea omnia præstare quæ decalogus jubet. Impedimenta enim, quæ legi adversantur, sunt infirmitas carnis, appetitus pravus, et concupiscentia ingenta. Quod autem ad sacrificia attinet, quod ad purgationes, ad ablutiones et reliquas cæremonias legis, umbræ erant, typi, imagines, et figuræ, veri et æterni sacrificii Jesu Christi in cruce facti; cujus solius beneficio omnia omnium credentium peccata, ab ipso usque mundi exordio ex solâ misericordiâ Dei, non autem ex ullis mentis nostris, condonata sunt.—

(n) Cùm mundi hujus fabricam creâset Dominus Deus, hortum idem ipse plantavit oblectationis et jucunditatis plenissimum, in loco quodam versus orientem sito; eumque nominavit Eden: in quo,

(n) Sign. b. vii. et seq.

præter

præter arbores alias longè pulcherrimas, una fuit in primis non ita procul ab horti illius medio, cujus nomen, Arbor vitæ; et altera, Arbor cognitionis boni et mali. Hic Dominus Deus, singulari amore ductus, posuit hominem, hortumque illi tradidit curandum et colendum, liberum ei faciens, ut de fructu omnium arborum Paradisi manducaret, excepto eo, quem arbor scientiæ boni et mali produxisset: hujus arboris fructum si quando degustaret, citra omnem controversiam mortis subiret supplicium. Eva autem à diabolo, serpentis imitante formam, elusa, fructum, alioqui vetitum, ob aspectûs jucunditatem desiderandum, ob manducandi voluptatem appetendum, et ob boni et mali scientiam vehementer jucundum, decerpit, edit, ac dedit marito, ut ipse eundem ederet: quo factum est, ut statim uterque mortui sunt, hoc est, non tantùm morti corporis obnoxii fuerunt, verùm animi quoque vitam amiserunt, quæ est justitia: et protinùs in illis imago offuscata est, ac lineamenta illa justitiæ, sanctitatis, veritatis, et cognitionis Dei, longè pulcherrima, confusa sunt et penè deleta: reliqua verò fuit imago terrena cum injustitiâ conjuncta, fraude, affectione carnali, et de rebus divinis ac cælestibus ignoratio summa. Inde autem nata est carnis nostræ infirmitas; inde ista corruptio et confusio affectionum et cupiditatem omnium: hinc illa pestis, hinc illud semina-

rium

rium et nutrimentum peccatorum omnium, quo genus humanum inficitur, et Peccatum Originis appellatur. Porro sic natura corrupta est et dejecta, ut nisi bonitas et misericordia Omnipotentis Dei nobis tulisset opem per medicinam Gratiae, quemadmodum corpore in universas mortis miseriae detrudimur, sic necessarium fuisset, ut omnes omnium generum homines in æterna supplicia, et ignem qui extingui non potest, conjicerentur.—

(o) Prima, præcipua, et perfectissima causa nostræ justificationis et salutis, est bonitas et amor Dei, quo ille nos in numerum suorum electos ante ascripsit quàm mundum condiderat. Post nobis datur, ut prædicatione Evangelii Jesu Christi vocemur; quocum infunditur nobis Spiritus Domini, cujus ductu et auspiciis trahimur, ut firmam in Deo fiduciam collocemus, et promissionum ejus omnium eventum speremus. Ejusdem electionis comes est mortificatio veteris hominis, id est, appetitus et concupiscentiæ nostræ. Illius etiam est sanctificatio nostra, amor Dei et proximi, justitia, et innocentia vitæ; atque ut summatim dicam, quicquid purum, sincerum, verum, et bonum in nobis existit, aut à nobis fieri potest, id totum à radice istâ suavissimâ, ab isto fonte largissimo, bonitate, amore, electione, et proposito Dei sanc-

(o) Sign. d. vi. b.

tissimo

tissimo nascitur. Ille est causa, reliqua sunt effectus. Sunt tamen bonitas Dei, et electio, et Spiritus, et ipse Christus, causæ inter se conjunctæ et colligatæ, quæ inter salutis nostræ principes causas possunt numerari. Quoties igitur dici solet, Solâ nos Fide justificari et servari, ita dictum est quia Fides, aut potius fiducia sola apprehendit, intelligit, et cognoscit nostram Justificationem nobis à Deo gratis dari, hoc est, nullis nostris meritis, sed ex gratuitâ gratiâ Omnipotentis Patris. Porro Fides amorem gignit proximi, et actiones quæ Deo placent. Nam si viva et vera sit, et Spiritu Sancto animata, mater est eorum omnium quæcunque benè aut dicuntur aut fiunt. Ex hoc brevi orationis compendio clarum est, unde Justificatio nostra, et quibus modis, paretur. Non enim meritorum nostrorum dignitate vel hactenus electi, vel olim salvati erimus, sed per solam misericordiam Dei et Christi Domini meram gratiam, per quam ad Bona Opera, quæ preparavit Deus ut in eis ambulemus, in ipso conditi sumus. Et licet Opera Bona nostram Justificationem apud Deum mereri non possunt, sic tamen Fidei adhærent, ut neque illa sine ipsis inveniri possit, neque Bona Opera extra Fidem usquam reperiantur.—

(p) Quam rem nobis repræsentat, et ob oculos

(p) Sign. e. vi. et seq.

ponit,

ponit, Baptismus ?—Nos esse per Spiritum Christi renatos, et mundatos à peccato ; quòdque sinus membra et partes ecclesiæ ascripti in communionem sanctorum : aqua enim significat Spiritum. Baptismus etiam est figura sepulturæ nostræ in Christo, quòdque cum illo unà resuscitabimur in novâ vitâ.

From BISHOP JEWEL'S APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE
 ANGLICANÆ. WRITTEN IN 1561, PUBLISHED
 IN 1562.

CREDIMUS Jesum Christum Filium unicum
 æterni Patris, quemadmodum jam olim ante omnia
 initia decretum fuerat, cùm venisset plenitudo tem-
 poris, suscepisse carnem et omnem naturam hu-
 manam ex beatâ illâ et purâ virgine, ut indicaret
 hominibus arcana et reconditam voluntatem Patris
 sui, quæ abdita fuerat à seculis et generationibus,
 utque in humano corpore perageret *Mysterium*
Redemptionis nostræ; et peccata nostra, et syn-
 grapham illam quæ erat scripta contra nos, affi-
 geret ad crucem.—

Baptismum quidè sacramentum esse remis-
 sionis peccatorum, et ejus ablutionis quam habe-
 mus in Christi sanguine. Et ab eo neminem, qui
 velit profiteri nomen Christi, ne infantes quidem
 Christianorum hominum, quoniam nascuntur in
 peccato, et pertinent ad populum Dei, arcendos
 esse.—

Dicimus hominem natum esse in peccato, et in
 peccato vitam agere; neminem posse verè dicere,
 mundum

mundum esse cor suum ; justissimum quemque servum esse inutilem ; legem Dei perfectam esse, et à nobis requirere perfectam et plenam obedientiam ; illi à nobis in hâc vitâ satisfieri non posse ullo modo ; neque esse mortalium quendam, qui possit in conspectu Dei propriis viribus justificari : Itaque unicum receptum nostrum et perfugium esse ad misericordiam Patris nostri per Jesum Christum, ut certò animis nostris persuadeamus illum esse propitiationem pro peccatis nostris ; ejus sanguine omnes labe nostras deletas esse ; illum pacificasse omnia sanguine crucis suæ ; illum unicâ illâ hostiâ, quam semel obtulit in cruce, omnia perfecisse, et eâ causâ, cùm animam ageret, dixisse *Consummatum est* ; quasi significare vellet, persolutum jam esse pretium pro peccato humani generis.—

Quamvis autem dicamus nihil nobis esse præsidi in operibus et factis nostris, et omnem salutis nostræ rationem constituamus in solo Christo, non tamen eâ causâ dicimus laxè et solutè vivendum esse, quasi tingi tantùm et credere satis sit homini Christiano, et nihil ab eo aliud expectetur. Vera fides viva est, nec potest esse otiosa.

Sic ergo docemus populum, Deum vocasse nos non ad luxum et libidinem, sed, ut Paulus ait, ad Opera Bona, ut in illis ambulemus ; Deum eripuisse

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eripuisse nos à potestate tenebrarum, ut serviamus Deo viventi, ut in timore et tremore Operemur salutem nostram, ut appareat Spiritum sanctificationis esse in membris nostris, et Christum ipsum per Fidem in cordibus nostris habitare.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.



EX AUGUSTANA CONFESSIOE,

ART. II.

ITEM docent, quòd post lapsum Adæ omnes homines, naturali modo propagati, nascentes habeant Peccatum Originis. Intelligimus autem Peccatum Originis, quod sic vocant sancti patres, et omnes orthodoxi et piè eruditi in Ecclesiâ ; videlicet reatum, quo nascentes, propter Adæ lapsum, rei sunt iræ Dei et mortis æternæ ; et ipsam corruptionem humanæ naturæ propagatam ab Adam. Et hæc naturæ humanæ corruptio defectus justitiæ seu integritatis seu obedientiæ originalis, et concupiscentiam, complectitur.—

ART. III.

Item docent, quòd Verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatæ Mariæ virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ ; unus Christus, verè Deus, et verè homo, natus ex virgine Mariâ, verè passus, crucifixus, mortuus,
et

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et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpâ originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus peccatis hominum. Idem descendit ad inferos, et verè resurrexit tertiâ die; deinde ascendit ad coelos, ut sedeat ad dextram Patris, et perpetuò regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis; sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu Sancto, et sanctificatis det vitam æternam. Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut judicet vivos, et mortuos resuscitados, juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

ART. IV.

Ut autem consequamur hæc beneficia Christi, scilicet Remissionem Peccatorum, Justificationem, et Vitam Æternam, dedit Christus Evangelium, in quo hæc beneficia nobis proponuntur, sicut scriptum est Lucæ ultimo, *Prædicari pœnitentiam in nomine ejus, et remissionem peccatorum inter omnes gentes*. Cùm enim omnes homines, naturali modo propagati, habent peccatum, nec possint verè legi Dei satisfacere; Evangelium arguit peccata, et ostendit nobis Mediatorem Christum; et sic docet nos de Remissione Peccatorum.

Cùm Evangelium arguit peccata nostra, corda perterrefacta statuere debent, quòd gratis nobis propter Christum

Christum donentur Remissio Peccatorum, et Justificatio per Fidem, quâ credere et confiteri debemus, hæc nobis donari propter Christum, qui pro nobis factus est hostia, et placavit Patrem. Quanquam igitur Evangelium requirit pœnitentiam, tamen, ut Remissio Peccatorum certa sit, docet eam gratis donari, hoc est, non pendere ex conditione dignitatis nostræ, nec dari propter ulla præcedentia opera aut dignitatem sequentium. Fieret enim incerta remissio, si ita sentiendum esset, tum demum nobis contingere Remissionem Peccatorum, postquam eam præcedentibus operibus meriti essemus, aut satis digna esset pœnitentia.

Conscientia enim, in veris pavoribus, nullum invenit opus, quod possit opponere iræ Dei; et Christus nobis donatus et propositus est, ut sit Propitiator. Hic honos Christi non debet transferri in nostra opera. Ideò Paulus dicit, *Gratis salvati estis.* Item, *Ideò ex fide gratis, ut sit firma promissio,* hoc est, ita erit certa remissio, cum sciemus eam non pendere ex conditione nostræ dignitatis, sed donari propter Christum. Hæc est firma et necessaria consolatio piis et perterrefactis mentibus. Atque ita docent et S. Patres. Et extat apud Ambrosium memorabilis et insignis sententia, his verbis: *Hoc constitutum est à Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit, sine opere, solâ fide, gratis accipiens Remissionem Peccatorum.*

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Et Fidei vocabulum non solum cognitionem historiæ de Christo significat, sed etiam credere et assentiri huic promissioni, quæ est Evangelii propria; in quâ propter Christum nobis promittuntur Remissio Peccatorum, Justificatio, et Vita Æterna. Nam et hæc promissio ad historiam de Christo pertinet, sicut et in Symbolo additus est historiæ hic articulus, *Credo Remissionem Peccatorum*. Et ad hunc articulum, reliqui de historiâ Christi referri debent. Nam id beneficium est finis historiæ. Ideò Christus passus et resuscitatus est, ut propter ipsum nobis donarentur Remissio Peccatorum et vita æterna.—

ART. V.

Itaque instituit Christus ministerium docendi Evangelii, quod prædicat pœnitentiam et remissionem peccatorum. Estque utraque prædicatio universalis, omnium peccata arguit, et omnibus credentibus promittit Remissionem Peccatorum, ut non sit incerta remissio, sed ut omnes perterrefactæ mentes sciant se debere credere, quòd certò donetur nobis Remissio Peccatorum propter Christum, non propter nostra merita aut dignitatem. Et cùm hoc modo consolamur nos promissione seu Evangelio, et erigimus nos Fide, certò consequimur Remissionem

missionem Peccatorum, et simul datur nobis Spiritus Sanctus. Nam Spiritus Sanctus datur, et est efficax, per verbum Dei et per sacramenta. Cùm Evangelium audimus aut cogitamus, aut sacramenta tractamus, et Fide nos consolamur, simul est efficax Spiritus Sanctus, juxta illud Pauli ad Galatas iii. *Ut promissio ex Fide Jesu Christi detur credentibus.* Et ad Corinthios, *Evangelium est ministerium Spiritus.* Et ad Romanos, *Fides ex auditu est.* Cùm igitur Fide nos consolamur, et liberamur à terroribus peccati per Spiritum Sanctum, concipiunt corda cæteras virtutes, agnoscunt verè misericordiam Dei, concipiunt veram dilectionem, verum timorem Dei, fiduciam, spem auxilii divini, invocationem, et similes fructus Spiritus.—

ART. VI.

Item docent, quòd cùm Fide reconciliamur, necessariò sequi debeat justitia Bonorum Operum, quæ Deus nobis mandavit, sicut et Christus præcepit. *Si vis in vitam ingredi, serva mandata.* Sed quia tanta est infirmitas humanæ naturæ, ut nemo legi satisfacere possit, necesse est docere homines non solùm quòd legi obediendum sit, sed etiam quomodo placeat hæc obedientia, ne conscientiæ incident in desperationem, cùm intelligant se non satisfacere legi. Placet igitur hæc obedientia, non quia legi

satisfacit, sed quia persona est in Christo reconciliata Fide, et credit sibi reliquias peccati condonari. Semper igitur sentiendum est, nos consequi Remissionem Peccatorum, et personam pronunciari justam, id est, acceptari gratis propter Christum per Fidem: postea verò placere etiam obedientiam erga legem, et reputari quandam justitiam, et mereri præmia. Non enim potest conscientia opponere judicio Dei propriam munditiem aut opera, sicut psalmus testatur, *Non intres in judicium cum tuo servo, quia non justificabitur coram te omnis vivens.* Et Joannes ait, *si dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus. Si confiteamur peccata nostra, fidelis et justus est, ut remittat nobis peccata nostra.* Et Christus inquit, *Cùm feceritis omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus.* Postquam autem persona reconciliata et justa Fide, id est, accepta est, placet et obedientia, et reputatur esse quædam justitia, sicut Joannes inquit, *Omnis qui eo manet non peccat.* Et 2 Cor. 1. *Gloria nostra hæc est, testimonium conscientiæ nostræ.*

Ac debet hæc obedientia repugnare pravis cupiditatibus, et subinde spiritualibus exercitiis fieri purior; et cavere, ne quid committamus contra conscientiam, juxta illud, *Summa legis est dilectio ex puro corde, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta.* Qui verò obtemperant pravis cupiditatibus, et agunt contra conscientiam, versantur in peccatis mortalibus, nec Fidei justitiam nec justitiam Bonorum Operum

Operum retinent, juxta illud Pauli, *Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.*

ART. IX.

De Baptismo docent, quòd necessarius sit ad salutem, tanquam ceremonià à Christo instituta. Et quòd per Baptismum offeratur gratia Dei; et quòd infantes sint baptizandi; et quòd infantes, per Baptismum Deo commendati, recipiantur in gratiam Dei, et fiant filii Dei; sicut Christus testatur, loquens de parvulis in Ecclesià, Matt. xviii. *Non est voluntas Patris vestri qui in calis est, ut pereat unus ex parvulis istis.*—

ART. XI.

De Pœnitentia docent, quòd lapsis post Baptisimum contingere possit Remissio Peccatorum, quocunque tempore, cùm convertuntur. Et quòd Ecclesia talibus, redeuntibus ad Pœnitentiam, impertire absolutionem debeat.—

Damnant Novatianos, qui volebant absolvere eos, qui, lapsi post Baptismum, redibant ad Pœnitentiam.

Damnant et illos, qui non docent Remissionem Peccatorum per Fidem gratis propter Christum contingere

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contingere, sed contendunt Remissionem Peccatorum contingere propter dignitatem contritionis, dilectionis, aut aliorum operum, et jubent dubitare conscientias in Pœnitentiâ, an consequantur Remissionem, et affirmant hanc dubitationem non esse peccatum.—

Damnant et Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos iterum posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum. Damnant et illos, qui contendunt aliquibus tantam perfectionem in hâc vitâ contingere, ut ne quidem possint iterum peccare.—

ART. XVIII.

De libero arbitrio docent, quòd humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem justitiam, et diligendas res rationi subjectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendæ justitiæ spiritualis ; quia Paulus dicit, *Animalis homo non percipit ea, quæ sunt Spiritus Dei*. Et Christus dicit, *Sine ne nihil potestis facere*. Efficitur autem spiritualis justitia in nobis, cùm adjuvamus à Spiritu Sancto. Porro Spiritum Sanctum concipimus, cùm verbo Dei assentimur, ut nos Fide in terroribus consolemur ; sicut Paulus docet, cùm ait, *Ut promissionem Spiritus accipiatis per Fidem*.—

Damnamus Pelagianos et similes, qui docent, quòd, sine Spiritu Sancto, solis naturæ viribus,
possimus

possimus Deum super omnia diligere, legem Dei facere, quoad substantiam actuum. Hæc somnia ingenuè et necessariò reprehendimus; obscurant enim beneficia Christi. Nam ideo proponitur in Evangelio Mediator Christus, et promittitur misericordia, quia humana natura non potest satisfacere legi; sicut Paulus testatur, cum ait, Rom. 8. *Sensus carnis inimicitia est adversus Deum; legi enim Dei non est subditus, ac ne potest quidem subijci.* Quanquam enim externa opera aliquo modo potest efficere humana natura per sese, potest enim continere manus à furto, à cæde, tamen interiores motus, ut verum timorem, fiduciam, patientiam, castitatem, non potest efficere, nisi Spiritus Sanctus gubernet et adjuvet corda nostra. Et tamen in hoc loco illud etiam docemus Dei mandatum esse, ut etiam carnales coerceantur diligentia rationis et illâ civili disciplinâ, sicut Paulus inquit: *Lex est pædagogus in Christum.* Item, *Lex est injustis posita.*

ART. XX.

Concionatores nostri, bono studio, utrumque doctrinæ genus illustraverunt. Proponunt evangelium de Fide, et addunt piam doctrinam de Operibus.

DE FIDE. Primum igitur de Fide et Justificatione

ficatione sic docent. Christus aptè complexus est summam Evangelii, cùm Lucæ ultimo jubet prædicari in nomine suo Pœnitentiam, et Remissionem Peccatorum. Nam Evangelium arguit peccata, et requirit Pœnitentiam, et simul offert Remissionem Peccatorum propter Christum gratis, non propter nostram dignitatem. Et sicut universalis est Pœnitentiæ prædicatio, ita et promissio Gratiae universalis est, et omnes credere jubet, et accipere beneficium Christi; sicut Christus inquit: *Venite ad me, omnes qui onerati estis.* Et Paulus ait: *Dives est in omnes, &c.* Quanquam igitur contritio aliqua, seu pœnitentia, necessaria est, tamen sentiendum est donari nobis Remissionem Peccatorum, et fieri nos ex injustis justos, id est, reconciliatos seu acceptos et filios Dei gratis, propter Christum, non propter dignitatem contritionis aut aliorum operum præcedentium aut sequentium. Sed Fide hoc beneficium accipiendum est, quâ credere nos oportet, quod propter Christum nobis donentur Remissio Peccatorum et Justificatio. Hæc sententia firmam consolationem perterrefactis mentibus affert. Et quàm necessaria sit Ecclesiæ peritæ conscientiae facile judicare possunt. Et nihil habet absurdi, nihil perplexum, nihil sophisticum. Non est hic opus disputationibus de PRÆDESTINATIONE aut similibus. Nam promissio est universalis, et nihil detrahit operibus, imo exsuscitat ad Fidem, et verè

Bona

Bona Opera. Nam Remissio Peccatorum transfertur à nostris operibus ad misericordiam, ut sit beneficium certum, non ut nos nihil agamus, sed multò magis, ut sciamus quomodo placeat Deo nostra obedientia in tantâ infirmitate nostrâ. Hanc sententiam, quâ et illustratur honos Christi, et piis mentibus consolatio dulcissima et firmissima proponitur, quæ veram misericordiæ divinæ cognitionem continet, et veros cultus, et æternam vitam parit, aspernari ac damnare plusquam Pharisæica cœcitas est. Olim cùm hæc consolatio non proponeretur, multæ pavidæ conscientiæ mederi sibi conabantur operibus, alii confugiebant ad monasticam vitam, alii alia opera eligebant, quibus merebantur Remissionem Peccatorum et Justificationem. Sed nulla est firma consolatio præter hanc doctrinam Evangelii, quæ jubet credere, quòd gratis nobis propter Christum donentur Remissio Peccatorum et Justificatio. Estque hæc tota doctrina comparata ad verum illud certamen perterrefactæ conscientiæ.

Sed addemus aliquot testimonia. Paulus, Rom. 3. *Justificamur gratis ipsius gratiâ, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu, quem proposuit Deus propitiatorem, per fidem in sanguine suo.* Rom. 4. *Ei autem qui non operatur, credit autem in eum qui justificat impium, reputatur fides ejus ad justitiam.* Ephes. 2. *Gratiâ salvati estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis; Dei enim donum est, non*
ex

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ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur. In his sententiis et similibus disertè docet Paulus, gratis nobis donari Remissionem Peccatorum et Justificationem non propter nostrorum operum dignitatem. Et in capite quarto ad Romanos copiosè disputat, quare hâc consolatione nobis opus sit. Si enim promissio penderet ex dignitate nostrorum operum, fieret incerta. Ut igitur adversus terrores peccati et mortis habeamus certam et firmam consolationem, et Fides consistere possit, necesse est eam solâ misericordia niti, et non nostrâ dignitate. Propterea Paulus inquit, *Ideo ex fide secundum gratiam, ut sit firma promissio.* Neque enim opponi iudicio Dei possunt opera nostra, juxta illud, *Si iniquitates observaveris, quis sustinebit?* Ideoque Mediator nobis donatus est, Christus; nec transferendus est ejus honos in nostra opera.

Cùm igitur dicimus, Fide justificamur, non hoc intelligimus, quòd justì simus propter ipsius virtutis dignitatem. Sed hæc est sententia, consequi nos Remissionem Peccatorum et imputationem justitiæ per misericordiam propter Christum. Verùm hæc misericordia non potest accipi nisi Fide, et Fides hic non tantum historiæ notitiam significat, sed significat credere promissioni misericordiæ quæ nobis propter Mediatorem Christum cōtingit. Et cùm hoc modo Fides intelligitur de fiduciâ misericordiæ, non dissentiunt inter se Jacobus et Paulus. Quod enim
inquit

inquit Jacobus, *Dæmones credunt et contremiscunt*, intelligit Fidem de notitiâ historiæ; hæc non justificat. Norunt enim historiam etiam impii ac diaboli. Paulus verò, cùm inquit, *Fides reputatur ad justitiam*, &c. loquitur de fiducia misericordiæ promissæ propter Christum. Estque sententia, homines justos pronunciari, id est, reconciliari, per misericordiam, non propter dignitatem propriam. Sed hanc misericordiam promissam propter Christum oportet Fide accipi. Jam bonas mentes nihil offendet novitas hujus Paulinæ figuræ, *Fide justificamur*, si intelligent propriè de misericordiâ dici, eamque veris et necessariis laudibus ornari. Quid potest enim esse gratius conscientiæ afflictæ ac pavidæ, in veris doloribus, quàm audire, hoc esse mandatum Dei, hanc esse vocem sponsi Christi, ut statuant certò donari Remissionem Peccatorum seu reconciliationem, non propter nostram dignitatem, sed gratis per misericordiam, propter Christum, ut beneficium sit certum? Significat autem Justificatio, in his Pauli sententiis, Remissionem Peccatorum, seu reconciliationem, seu imputationem justitiæ, hoc est, acceptance personæ.

Nec afferimus novum dogma in Ecclesiam. Nam hanc de Fide doctrinam Scriptura copiosè tradit. Et Paulus hunc locum præcipuè tractat in aliquot Epistolis. Et docent idem S. Patres. Sic enim inquit Ambrosius de vocatione gentium:
Vilescret

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Vilaceret redemptio sanguinis Christi, nec misericordiae Dei humanorum operum praerogativa succumberet, si justificatio, quae fit per gratiam, meritis praecedentibus deberetur, ut non munus largientis, sed merces esset operantis. Et multae sunt integrae, hanc de re, apud Augustinum, disputationes. Hujus haec sunt verba. Quandoquidem per legem ostendit homini infirmitatem suam, ut, ad ejus misericordiam per fidem confugiens, sanaretur. Dictum est enim quod legem et misericordiam in lingua portet; legem scilicet, quam reos faciat superbos, misericordiam vero, quam justificet humiliatos. Justitia ergo Dei per fidem Jesu Christi in omnes qui credunt, &c.—

DE BONIS OPERIBUS Cùm necessariam de Fide doctrinam et consolationem Ecclesiis proponimus, additur et doctrina de Bonis Operibus; quod videlicet necessaria sit, in reconciliatis, obedientia erga legem Dei. Nam Evangelium concionatur de novâ vitâ, juxta illud, *Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum*. Hæc igitur nova vita debet esse obedientia erga Deum. Et Evangelium prædicat Pœnitentiam; nec existere Fides potest, nisi in his qui Pœnitentiam agunt, quia Fides consolatur corda in contritione et terroribus peccati; sicut Paulus docet: *Justificati fide, pacem habemus*; et de Pœnitentiâ dicit, Rom. 6. *Vetus noster homo simul crucifixus est, ut aboleatur corpus peccati, ne peccata*

cato deinceps serviamus. Et Esaias inquit, Ubi habitabit Dominus? In Spiritu contrito et humiliato, &c.

Secundò, Inter Bona Opera præcipuum est, et summus cultus Dei, Fides ipsa; et parit multas alias virtutes, quæ existere non possunt, nisi prius corda Fidem conceperint. Paulus enim dicit, *Quomodo invocabunt, nisi crediderint? Donec animi dubitant, an à Deo exaudiantur, donec sentiunt se à Deo rejici, non verè invocant Deum.* Sed cum Fide agnoscimus misericordiam, confugimus ad Deum, diligimus, invocamus, speramus, expectamus auxilium, obedimus in afflictionibus, quia jam scimus nos esse filios, et placere Deo nostrum sacrificium, nostras afflictiones. Hos cultus parit Fides. Præclare igitur inquit Ambrosius, *Fides bonæ voluntatis et justæ actionis genitrix est.* Adversarii videri volunt magnificè ornare doctrinam Bonorum Operum. Et tamen de his spiritualibus operibus, de Fide, de exercitiis Fidei in invocatione, in omnibus vitæ negotiis, consiliis, et periculis, nihil dicunt: Ac ne potest quidem rectè dici de his exercitiis, si conscientiæ relinquuntur in dubitatione, si nesciant Deum requirere Fidem, tanquam præcipuum cultum; et cum offunditur oculis illa ingens species externorum operum, mentes, præsertim non satis institutæ, abducuntur à conspectu horum exercitiorum interiorum. Necesse est autem in Ecclesiâ de his interioribus

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interioribus operibus, et fructibus Spiritûs, doceri homines. Nam hæc opera discrimen faciunt inter pios et hypocritas. Externos cultus, externas ceremonias, et alia externa opera præstare etiam hypocritæ possunt. At hi cultus tantum sunt veræ Ecclesiæ, vera pœnitentia, timor, fides, invocatio, &c. Hi cultus præcipuè requiruntur et laudantur in scripturis, ut psalmo 49. *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis, Invoca me in die tribulationis, &c.*

Tertiò. Et hæc Fide, quæ consolatur corda in Pœnitentiâ, accipimus Spiritum Sanctum, qui datur ut gubernet et adjuvet nos, ut peccato et diabolo resistamus, et magis magisque agnoscamus infirmitatem nostram, et in nobis crescant agnitio Dei, timor, fides. Quare debet in nobis obedientia erga Deum et nova vita crescere, sicut Paulus docet, renovari nos debere ad agnitionem Dei, ut efficiatur in nobis nova lux, et imago ejus qui condidit nos, &c.

Quartò. Docemus etiam quando hæc inchoata obedientia placeat Deo. Nam in hæc tantâ infirmitate et immunditie naturæ, sancti non satisfaciunt legi: opus igitur est piis consolatione, ut sciant quomodo hæc exigua et imperfecta obedientia Deo placeat. Non enim ideo placet, quia legi satisfaciat, sed quia personæ reconciliatæ et justæ sunt propter Christum, et credunt sibi condonari imbecillitatem suam. Sic Paulus docet, *Nulla*
nunc

nunc est condemnatio his, qui sunt in Christo, &c. Quanquam igitur hæc nova obedientia procul abest à perfectione legis, tamen est justitia, et meretur præmia ideò quia personæ reconciliatæ snut. Atque ita de operibus judicandum est, quæ quidem amplissimis laudibus ornanda sunt, quòd sint necessaria, quòd sint cultus Dei, et sacrificia spiritualia, et mereantur præmia. Sed tamen de personâ prius tenenda est hæc consolatio, necessaria in certamine conscientiæ, quod Fide gratis habeamus Remissionem Peccatorum, et persona justa, id est reconciliata sit, et hæres vitæ æternæ, propter Christum; postea verò placere obedientiam juxta illud, *Nunc non estis sub legē, sed sub gratiâ.* Non enim possunt opponi iræ ac judicio Dei nostra opera, sed terrores peccati et mortis vincendi sunt fiduciâ Mediatoris Christi, sicut scriptum est, *O mors, ero mors tua.* Et Johan. 6. ait Christus, *Hæc est voluntas Patris qui misit me, ut omnis qui videt Filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam æternam.* Et Paulus, *Justificati fide, pacem habemus.* Et Ecclesia semper orat, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra;* atque ita de imbecillitate sanctorum, et de fide, docent et ipsi S. Patres. Augustinus in enarratione psalmi 30. inquit, *In tuâ justitiâ me erue.* Est enim justitia Dei, quæ et nostra fit, cum donatur nobis. Ideò autem Dei justitia dicitur, ne homo sese putet à seipso habere justitiam; sicut enim dicit
Apostolus

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Apostolus Paulus, *Credenti in eum qui justificat impium, id est, qui ex impio facit justum.* Si agat tanquam ex regulâ legis propositâ, damnandus est peccator. Hâc regulâ si ageret, quem liberaret? Omnes enim peccatores invenit. Hoc aut Apostolus, *Omnes peccaverunt, et egent gloriâ Dei.* Quid est, egent gloriâ Dei? Ut ipse liberet, non tu; quia tu non potes liberare, indiges liberatore, quid est quod te jactas? quid est quod de lege, et justitiâ præsumis? Non vides quid intus tecum pugnet? Non audis decertantem, et confitentem, et adjutorium in pugnâ desiderantem, *Miser ego homo, &c.*? Facile autem judicari potest, necessariam esse Ecclesiæ hanc doctrinam, ut sciant homines se non satisfacere legi, et tamen habeant consolationem, quomodo hæc imperfecta obedientia placeat. Hanc doctrinam horribiliter obruerunt olim quædam absurdæ persuasiones, in quibus indocti contra auctoritatem scripturæ et veteris Ecclesiæ finxerunt homines legi Dei satisfacere. Item, justos esse propter legis impletionem, &c. Et monachos perfectos esse, et ampliora, et præstantiora opera præstare, quàm lex Dei flagitat. Interim altissimum silentium erat, quomodo Fide apprehendendus sit Mediator Christus; sed jubebant dubitare, aut confidere propriis operibus.

Cæterum de hâc obedientiâ etiam docemus, eos qui admittunt peccata mortaliâ non esse justos, quia
Deus

Deus requirit hanc obedientiam, ut resistamus vitiosis affectibus. Qui autem non repugnant sed obtemperant eis contra mandatum Dei, et admittunt actiones contra conscientiam, hi sunt iniusti, et neque Spiritum Sanctum, neque Fidem, id est, fiduciam misericordiæ, retinent. Nam in his qui delectantur peccatis, nec agunt pœnitentiam, ne potest quidem fiducia existere, quæ quærat Remissionem Peccatorum.

Quintò, necesse est hoc quoque docere, quomodo facere homines Bon a Opera possint. Modò dictum est, quomodo placeant Deo; hic addimus etiam quomodo fieri possint, etsi enim homines suis viribus externa honesta opera utcunque efficere possunt, et hanc disciplinam debent præstare, tamen homines sine Fide sunt in potestate diaboli, qui impellit eos ad manifestam turpitudinem, occupat animos eorum impiis et blasphemis opinionibus; id enim est regnum et tyrannis diaboli. Adhæc natura per sese infirma est, et non potest sine auxilio Dei se erigere, et spiritualia opera efficere. Ideò docentur homines, in Evangelio promitti Spiritum Sanctum, qui animos eorum, qui agunt Pœnitentiam et Evangelio assentiuntur, adjuvet et gubernet. Quare in omni vitâ, in tantâ infirmitate naturæ, inter has diaboli insidias, in omnibus periculis, exercenda est Fides in invocatione, ut perseverare in Fide et obedientia erga Deum possimus. Itaque Zacharias

M
inquit

inquit, *Effundam super domum David, et super habitatores Jerusalem Spiritum gratiæ et precum.* Ideò enim vocat Spiritum gratiæ, quòd Spiritus Sanctus erigat et consoletur perterrefactas mentes, et testetur nos habere Deum placatum. Et vocat Spiritum precum, ut Fidem assiduè in invocatione exerceamus, ut per hæc exercitia confirmetur Fides, et crescat nova vita.

Et veræ virtutes sine ullâ dubitatione sunt dona Dei, fides, perspicacia iudicii in discernendis dogmatibus, magnitudo animi qualem esse necesse est in his, qui Evangelium docent et confitentur, vera diligentia in regendis Ecclesiis, vera humilitas non appetere potentiam, non frangi populari favore aut odio, vera castitas, &c. Has heroicas virtutes Paulus vocat dona Dei, Roma. 12. *Habentes dissimilia dona secundum gratiam nobis datam.* Et de his inquit ad Corinthios, *Hæc efficit unus et idem Spiritus, distribuens singulis, &c.* Debet autem ad hæc dona accedere exercitatio nostra, quæ et conservat ea et meretur incrementum, juxta illud, *Habenti dabitur.* Et Augustinus præclare dixit, *Dilectio meretur incrementum dilectionis, cum videlicet exercetur.* Habent enim Bona Opera præmia, cum in hac vitâ, tum post hanc vitam in vitâ æternâ. Quia enim Ecclesia in hac vitâ subjecta est cruci et morti corporali, differuntur præmia pleraque ad futuram vitam, quæ etiamsi per misericordiam

ricordiam certò propter Christum contingit his qui fiduciâ Christi justificati sunt; tamen etiam est compensatio Bonorum Operum, juxta illud, *Merces vestra copiosa est in cælis.*

ART. (DE ABUS.) DE MISSA.

Passio Christi fuit oblatio, et satisfactio, non solum pro culpâ originis, sed etiam pro omnibus reliquis peccatis.



APPENDIX II.

EXTRACT

FROM

THE SAXONICK CONFESSION.



DE REMISSIONE PECCATORUM, ET JUSTIFICATIONE.

dictum est suprâ, has controversias pertinere ad explicationem duorum articulorum symboli: *Credo remissionem peccatorum*, et, *Credo Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam*. Nec de rebus non necessariis aut levibus dicimus. Maximè necessarium est, in Ecclesiâ rectè proponi doctrinam de peccato, et intelligi quid sit peccatum, et conspici discrimen inter judicîa politica et judicium Dei.

Cùm autem non rectè ostendant adversarii quid sit peccatum, ut jam dictum est confirmant malam securitatem in hominibus, et multas falsas opiniones. Postea etiam quid est tristius, quàm hoc summum beneficium, Remissionem Peccatorum, et liberationem à morte æternâ, vel obscurare, vel ignorare? Cùmque nec discrimen sit inter Ecclesiam et alios homines, extinctâ luce de gratuitâ Remissione Peccatorum propter Filium, et de Fide quâ accipi Remissionem oportet, nec consolatio sit alia retrahens nos ex morte æternâ, nec invocatio vera sine hac consolatione fieri possit: et Deus ipse

ipse toties præceperit audiri Filium, et custodiri Evangelium, quod est mirandum decretum prolatum ex arcano consilio divinitatis, cùm ignotum esset omnibus creaturis : maximè necessarium est, veram de Remissione doctrinam retineri incorruptam.

Sed omnibus ætatibus inde usque à primis patribus sparsæ sunt præstigiæ à diabolis, contra veram doctrinam de Filio Dei, præsertim in hoc articulo : quos tamen subinde refutavit Deus, excitatis rursus bonis doctoribus, ne funditus interiret Ecclesia. Ostenderunt Adam, Seth, Nohe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, et alij deinceps, verum discrimen Ecclesiæ Dei, et aliorum hominum : et docuerunt, Ecclesiæ traditam esse promissionem de Mediatore Filio Dei, et de Remissione Peccatorum : et hanc Fide accipiendam esse gratis, propter Mediatorem.

Et alligaverunt invocationem ad hunc Deum, qui se patefecerat editâ promissione de Mediatore : et habuerunt externos ritus divinitus traditos, qui erant signa promissionis, et nervi publicæ congregationis.

Hos ritus, omissâ doctrinâ promissionum et Fidei, magna pars multitudinis imitata est : et cùm adfingeret hanc persuasionem, homines his ritibus mereri Remissionem Peccatorum, cumulavit ritus, et paulatim processit audacia, ut fit, ut alii alia numina fingerent. Ita discesserunt Ethnici à verâ
Dei

Dei Ecclesiâ, et ab agnitione veri Dei, et promissione Redemptoris. Idem accidit post Moysen. Institutæ erant ceremoniæ hanc ipsam ob causam, ut essent commonefactiones de Mediatore; sed multitudo oblita promissionis de Mediatore, de doctrinâ Fidei, de gratuitâ Remissione propter Mediatorem, finxit remitti peccata propter sacrificia, et ritus illos, et hæc superstitione cumulavit sacrificia, et oblita est Mediatoris, et fuit sine verâ consolatione, et sine verâ invocatione. Idem accidit post Apostolos amissâ luce Evangelii, in quâ proponitur gratuita Remissio propter Mediatorem accipienda Fide; quæsitâ est Remissio per exercitia monastica, per cœlibatum, per varias observationes, per oblationem in missâ, per intercessionem hominum mortuorum, et multæ monstrosæ superstitiones excogitatæ sunt, ut historiæ totiys Ecclesiæ post Apostolos ostendunt.

Adversus hos errores immensâ misericordiâ Deus subinde vocem Evangelii restituit, ac ut in populo Israel subinde prophetas excitavit, qui doctrinam repurgarent: ita in Ecclesiâ, post Apostolos, cùm scripta Origenica, et Pelagiana, et populi superstitione puritatem Evangelii corrupissent, tamen velut in caligine rursus accensa est lux ab Augustino: et hunc secuti sunt Prosper, Maximus, et alii qui falsas opiniones in hoc articulo taxaverunt.

Postea natis monachis, cùm rursus latè vagaretur opinio, quæ fingit homines mereri Remissionem operibus,

operibus, fuerunt tamen aliqui rectius sentientes, etiamsi fundamento stipulas adderent : ut Hugo, Bernhardus, Gilibertus, Guilhelmus Parisiensis, Taulerus, Ambrosius, Wessellus, et alibi alij. Et nunc voce Lutheri magis illustrata est, et perspicuè restituta Evangelii doctrina, et monstratus agnus, sicut Baptista inquit : *Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi. Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam æternam: qui non credit, manet ira Dei super eum.* Hanc ipsam vocem Evangelii incorruptam sonant etiam Ecclesiæ nostræ: et expressè discernimus disciplinam, seu justitiam, quam potest efficere homo non renatus, à justitiâ Fidei, et novitate de quâ concionatur Evangelium. Dicimus, omnes homines disciplinâ coercendos esse; id est, illâ justitiâ, quam etiam non renati præstare debent, et utcumque possunt, quæ est obedientia in externis actionibus, juxta omnia præcepta Dei ad omnes homines pertinentia. Quia Deus in homine post lapsum reliquit hanc libertatem, ut rationi et voluntati possint utcumque obedire externa membra, in externis motibus ciendis vel omittendis: ut Achilles potest gladium stringere, aut recondere in vaginam; Scipio potest coercere membra, ne attingat alterius sponsam: ut hæc suo loco rectè et copiosè declarantur.

Hanc disciplinam à Deo præceptam esse, et puniri ejus violationem præsentibus poenis et æternis,

in his qui non convertuntur ad Deum, certissimum est; juxta illa dicta, *Lex est posita injustis*: item, *Qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit*: item, *Scortatores et adulteros judicabit Deus*: item, *Vae qui spoliastis, quia spoliaberis*.

Etsi autem omnes homines hanc disciplinam suos mores regere debent, et Deus imperia severè hanc disciplinam tueri jubet, et ipse horribilibus poenis declarat iram suam adversus hanc externam contumaciam: tamen hæc externa disciplina etiam sicubi est honestissima, nequaquam est impletio legis, nec meretur Remissionem Peccatorum, nec est Justitia illa quam coram Deo accepti sumus: nec lux illa fulgens in naturam hominum, sicut fulsit in nobis justitia in vitam æternam. Sed tota hæc disciplina est, qualiscunque externa gubernatio, similis folio ficus quo tegunt nuditatem suam primi parentes post lapsum. Nec magis tollit peccatum, et naturæ corruptionem et mortem quam tollebant illæ frondes ficu. Ideo Paulus toties clamat, non tolli peccatum lege, Rom. iii. *Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro coram eo.* Et Rom. viii. *Cum legi impossibile esset justificare,* &c. Et Galat. ii. *Si per legem justitia est, frustra Christus est mortuus.* Et ad Tit. iii. *Non ex operibus justitiæ, quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvavit nos.*

Et contumelia est Filii Dei fingere ulla nostra
opera

opera merita esse, seu pretium Remissionis Peccatorum, et esse propitiationes pro peccato. Ideò Pharisaica illa et Pelagiana deliramenta clarè damnamus, quæ fingunt disciplinam illam esse impletionem legis Dei: item mereri Remissionem, seu de congruo, seu de condigno, vel esse Justitiam quâ homines coram Deo sint accepti. Sed Filius Dei Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui est imago æterni Patris, constitutus est Mediator, Propitiator, Redemptor, Justificator, et Salvator. *Hujus unius obedientiæ et merito placatur ira Dei*, ut Rom. iii. dicitur: *quem posuit Propitiatorem per fidem in sanguine ejus*: et Heb. x. *Impossible est sanguine taurorum tolli peccata*. Ipse autem unicam pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in perpetuum sedet ad dexteram Dei, &c.

Etsi autem causas hujus mirandi consilii, cur hoc modo redimendum fuerit genus humanum, nondum in hac infirmitate cernimus, sed postea discendæ erunt in omni æternitate, tamen hæc initia nunc discenda sunt:

Conspiciuntur in hac victimâ justitia et ira Dei adversus peccatum, et immensa misericordia erga nos, et amor in Filio erga genus humanum. Tanta est justitiæ severitas, ut non sit facta reconciliatio, nisi pœna persolveretur. Tanta est iræ magnitudo, ut æternus Pater non sit placatus nisi deprecatione et morte Filii. Tanta misericordia, ut
Filius

Filius pro nobis datus sit. Tantus amor in Filio erga nos, ut hanc veram et ingentem iram in se derivaverit. Harum maximarum et arcanarum rerum considerationem in pectoribus accendito tu, FILI DEI, Spiritu tuo sancto, ut verè expavescamus agnitione iræ, et rursus verà consolatione erigamur, et te in omni æternitate celebremus!

Ut autem beneficia hujus Mediatoris nota essent generi humano, et nobis applicarentur, edita est promissio statim initio post lapsum primorum parentum, et deinde sæpius repetita, et voce Prophetarum declarata: sed clarissimè recitata per ipsum Filium, et deinde per Apostolos: et institutum est ministerium docendi, et propagandæ promissionis, et condita Ecclesia, et subinde instaurata hâc ipsâ voce de Filio Dei Propitiatore. Per hoc ministerium semper fuit, est, et erit efficax Filius Dei in credentibus, sicut Rom. i. dicitur: *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti.* Et instaurat ipse hoc ministerium, cùm inquit, *Sicut misit me Pater, ita ego mitto vos: Ite, prædicantes pœnitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in nomine meo.* Vult argui peccatum in toto genere humano, sicut inquit, *Spiritus arguit mundum de peccato, quodd non credunt in me.* Et Rom. i. *Revelatur ira Dei de cœlo super omnem impietatem et injustitiam hominum.* Vult Deus agnosci

agnosci iram suam adversus peccata omnia, et præcipuè adversus contemptum Filii, sicut in psal. inquit, *Osculamini filium, ne irascatur, et pereatis de viâ, &c.* Vult nos verè expavescere agnitione tenebrarum, et horrendæ pravitatis et contumaciæ nostræ. Et quidem ipse Deus iræ suæ sensu corda opprimit, ut inquit Ezech. *Sicut leo contrivit omnia ossa mea.* Et ad hoc judicium non solum voce ministerii legis et Evangelii utitur, sed etiam omnes calamitates humanæ sunt quasi vox legis, de irâ Dei nos admonens, et omnes ad poenitentiam invitans. Cùm autem hâc voce peccata arguente mens perterrefacta est, audiat promissionem Evangelii propriam de Filio Dei, et statuât sibi remitti peccata gratis propter Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Propitiatorem, per misericordiam, non propter contritionem aut dilectionem nostram. Hâc Fide cùm erigitur, certum est donari Remissionem Peccatorum, reconciliationem et imputationem justitiæ, propter ipsius Christi meritum: et Christum in nobis efficacem esse, et suo Spiritu Sancto vivificare credentes et ex æternâ morte nos liberare, et facere nos simul hæredes vitæ æternæ. Ita inquit Paulus Rom. iii. *Decernimus fide justificari hominem, sine operibus legis.* Item, *Justificamur gratis ipsius gratiâ, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu, quem proposuit Deus Propitiatorem*

per fidem in sanguine ejus. Et Act. x. Huic omnes prophetae testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere omnes qui credunt in eum.

Sunt autem nota vocabula. Fides significat non tantum historiæ notitiam, qualis et in diabolis est, de quibus dicitur, *Dæmones credunt et contremiscunt* : sed significat amplecti omnes articulos Fidei, et in his hunc articulum, *Credo remissionem peccatorum* : Nec tantum aliis eam dari credo, sed mihi quoque.

Hæc Fides simul est fiducia acquiescens in Mediatore, juxta illud : *Justificati fide, pacem habemus*. Ita loquitur Paulus de Fide, quæ, adsentiens omnibus articulis Fidei, promissionem intuetur et amplectitur, copulat enim fidem et promissionem, Rom. iv. *Ideo ex fide, ut sit firma promissio.*

In declaratione vocabuli *Justificari*, usitatè dicitur : Justificari significat, ex injusto justum fieri, quod, rectè intellectum, hic quoque quadrat. Ex injusto, id est, reo et inobediente, et non habente Christum, fieri justum, id est, absolutum à reatu, propter Filium Dei, et apprehendentem Fide ipsum Christum, *qui est justitia nostra*, ut dicunt Jeremias et Paulus, quia ejus merito habemus remissionem, et Deus justitiam nobis imputat, et propter eum nos justos reputat, et dato Spiritu suo Sancto nos vivificat, et regenerat, sicut et Joan. v. dicitur : *Hæc est vita in Filio ejus. Qui habet Filium,*

Filium, habet vitam æternam: qui non habet Filium Dei, vitam non habet. Et Rom. iii. *Ut sit ipse justus et justificans.* Quanquam autem simul inchoatur novitas, quæ in vitâ æternâ erit perfecta, ad quam redempti sumus; tamen persona in hac vitâ non propter novas qualitates aut opera est justa, id est, Deo accepta, et hæres vitæ æternæ; sed propter ipsum Mediatorem passum, resuscitatum, regnantem, deprecantem pro nobis, nos obumbrantem et vivificantem. Quanquam enim sunt inchoatæ virtutes, tamen adhuc sunt imperfectæ, et hærent in nobis reliquiæ peccati. Ideo tenenda est hæc consolatio, placere personam propter Filium Dei, imputatâ nobis ipsius justitiâ, sicut Rom. iv. dicitur, *Credidit Abraham Deo, et imputatum est ei ad justitiam*; item, *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata.* Itaque et correlativè intelligenda est hæc oratio, *Fide justificamur*, hoc est, fiduciâ Filii Dei justificamur, non propter nostram qualitatem, sed quia ipse est Propitiator, in quo cor acquiescit, fiduciâ promissæ misericordiæ propter eum, quam fiduciam ipse Spiritu suo Sancto exsuscitat, sicut inquit Paulus: *Accepistis Spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus, Abba pater.*

Hic et de particulâ exclusivâ dicendum est. Toties repetit Paulus vocabulum *Gratis*, quâ voce certissimum est excludi conditionem meritorum nostrorum. Ideò in Ecclesiis nostris dicitur:

Fide

Fide solâ justificamur: quod sic intelligimus, et declaramus: Gratis, propter solum Mediatorem, non propter nostram contritionem, seu alia nostra merita, donamur Remissione Peccatorum, et reconciliatione. Etsi enim contritio et aliæ virtutes multæ cum Fide, seu hac fiduciâ simul accenduntur: tamen hæ virtutes non sunt causa, seu meritum Remissionis Peccatorum, nec propter eas persona placet: juxta illud, *Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens*: sed habet Remissionem et placet persona certò propter Mediatorem, quem Fide apprehendi oportet, ut ad Ephes. cap. iiii. dicitur: *Per quem audemus accedere in fiduciâ, quæ est per fidem in eum*. Hæc tota doctrina fit illustrior in verâ conversione et quotidianâ invocatione piorum. Cum expavescimus agnitione iræ Dei, hæc una est firma consolatio, confugere ad Filium Dei, qui inquit, *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos*. Item, *Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat*. Item, *Gratia exuberat supra peccatum*. In his doloribus si doces hominem, dubitandum esse de Remissione Peccatorum, vincet dolor, et sequentur tristissimi fremitus adversus Deum, et desperatio, et mors æterna. Sed si doceas, Fide vincendam esse dubitationem, intelliget jam vocabulo Fidei non tantum significari notitiam historiæ, intelliget fiduciam niti solo Mediatore,

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tore, intelliget quid dicatur his verbis, Grátis propter Mediatorem solâ Fide accipitur Remissio, et placet persona.

Hæc lucta omnibus temporibus aliquos erudiit, ut has veras consolationes aliquo modo intelligerent. Etsi enim Origenes, et multi scriptores et sententiarum, aliud genus doctrinæ insincerum pepererunt: tamen in Augustino, et aliis quibusdam, leguntur dicta quæ ostendunt, eos ex his veris fontibus etiam hausisse consolationes.

Quamquam autem interdum improprie loquuntur, aut dissimilia dicunt, quia in loquendo negligentiores fuerunt: tamen quæ fuerit eorum perpetua sententia, si dextrè judicare volumus animadverti potest. Augustinus in psal. xxxi. inquit, *Qui sunt beati? Non illi, in quibus non inveniet peccata: nam in omnibus invenit. Omnes enim peccaverunt, et carent gloriâ Dei. Si ergo in omnibus peccata inveniuntur, remanet quòd non sunt beati, nisi quorum remissa sunt peccata. Hoc ergo Apostolus sic commendavit, Credidit Abraham Deo, et imputatum est ei ad justitiam.* Hic certè Augustinus Fidem intelligit fiduciam, quæ accipit Remissionem Peccatorum: et quod est dictum in Genesi, et in Paulo, prorsus intelligit sicut nos enarramus. Alibi de spiritu et literâ inquit: *Ex lege timeamus Deum, et fide confugimus ad misericordiam.*

diam. Bernardus in concione de Annuntiatione: *Necesse est primum omnium credere, quòd Remissionem Peccatorum habere non possis, nisi per indulgentiam Dei. Sed adde, ut credas et hoc, quòd per ipsum peccata tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium quod perhibet Spiritus Sanctus in corde tuo, dicens: Remissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem.* In hoc dicto perspicuè et propriè citatur sententia Ecclesiarum nostrarum, et extant similia testimonia apud hunc authorem. Basilius etiam propriissimè recitat nostram sententiam, in concione de humilitate, his verbis: *Qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur, dicens quod Christus nobis factus sit sapientia à Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio, sicut scriptum est: Qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur. Hæc est enim perfecta et integra gloriatio, in Deo, quando neque propter suam justitiam quisquam effertur, sed agnoscit se indigere verâ justitiâ, fide autem solâ in Christum justificari.*

Cùm igitur ex his quæ jam dicta sunt, manifestum fit, quid significet vocabulum fidei, in hac propositione, *Fide justificamur*: hinc intelligi potest, perniciosè errare monachos, et alios qui jubent conversos ad Deum dubitare an placeant Deo.

Hunc vulgarem errorem de dubitatione mani-

festè refutant hæc dicta : *Justificati fide, pacem habemus.* Item, *Ideò ex fide, ut sit firma promissio.* Donec enim excruciantur dubitatione corda, fugiant Deum, non acquiescunt in Deo, non invocant. Et promissio fit eis inanis sonitus, quia non adsentiantur ei.

Postremò Dei mandatum est æternum et immotum, ut credamus Filio Dei, juxta hoc dictum : *Spiritus arguet mundum de peccato, quòd non credunt in me.* Item, 1 Johan. v. *Qui non credit Deo, accusat eum mendacii.* Est autem insulsa cavillatio, quod dicunt, dubitandum esse propter nostram indignitatem, non propter misericordiam. Ideò enim edita est promissio, ideò Filius Dei Mediator constitutus est, quia nos indigni sumus : et ut Pater propter ipsum passum, resuscitatum, et deprecantem pro nobis, et habitantem in nobis, ac vestientem nos suâ justitiâ, certè sit propitius huic miseræ massæ, indignæ, et plenæ sordium, juxta illud : *Nulla nunc condemnatio est his qui in Christo Jesu ambulant.* Absurdum est etiam, quod dicunt, nostræ indignitatis causâ dubitandum esse. Non enim dubitandum est an displiceat indignitas, sed veris gemitibus fateamur nos indignos esse, et apponamus promissionem, cui adsentiri mandatum Dei est. Nec rectè accommodatur ad hanc dubitationem sententia in Ecclesiaste ix.

Nescit

Nescit homo, an amore vel odio dignus sit. Amentia est fingere Salomonem hoc velle, nec justos, nec injustos debere statuere, an placeant, an displiceant Deo : cùm certissimum sit, perseverantes in sceleribus contra conscientiam, displicere Deo. Sed abducit nos Salomon à spectaculis externis ad verbum Dei, quasi dicat : ex rebus secundis non statuas te placere Deo, nec propter res adversas displicere. Non ideò placet Alexander, quia vincit, et magno imperio potitur : Job in calamitate, David in exilio, non ideò statuunt se abjectos esse à Deo, quia sunt ærumnosi. Non ex his eventibus, seu externis spectaculis judicent, sed ex verbo Dei. Etiam in mediâ calamitate affertur consolatio : *Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris, &c. Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium unigenitum dederit, ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, &c.* Denique error de dubitatione, prorsus Ethnica Imaginatio est, ac Evangelium abolet, et in conversione veram consolationem iis qui sentiunt iram Dei adimit.

Docendi sunt potius homines, hanc certo vocem Evangelii esse ut Filio Dei credamus, ac statuamus gratiam exuberare supra peccatum : ideòque repugnemus dubitationi, et eluctemur, et fide eam vincamus, ut accedere ad Deum, invocare eum, et ei gratias agere possimus. Hi summi cultus horribiliter impediuntur, quandocunque animi concu-
tiuntur

182 *Doctrines of our Reformers which are*

tiuntur fluctibus dubitationum, ut experientia ostendit. Hinc perspicuum est, quare decretum Tridentinæ Synodi, quod confirmat errorem de dubitatione, taxari necesse sit.

Ex his omnibus etiam intelligi potest, justè reprehendi synecdochen eorum qui sic interpretantur Paulum : *Fide justificamur*, id est, formatâ dilectione, ut ipsi loquuntur. Nam vocabulam fidē intelligunt tantum de notitiâ, et cogitant hanc esse sententiam : *Fide justificamur*, id est, præparamur ad Justitiam : id est, ad cæteras virtutes, quæ sunt obedientia et impletio Legis. Itaque tantum hoc dicunt : Hominem esse justum propter proprias virtutes ; deinde jubent dubitare, an sit ornatus illis habitibus, de quibus loquuntur.

Ostendimus autem supra, Fide significari fiduciam acquiescentem in Filio Dei Propitiatore, propter quem recipimur et placemus, non propter nostras virtutes, aut Legis impletionem. Cùm autem in hac ipsâ consolatione, fiducia, quâ acquiescimus in Filio Dei, verè sit motus accensus, à Spiritu Sancto, quo vivificatur cor, et liberatur ex æternâ morte, dicitur hæc conversio, regeneratio, Joan. iii. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu*. Et fit homo jam verè domicilium Dei, qui est in eo efficax, ut Joan. xiv. dicitur : *Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et veniemus ad eum, et man-*
sionem

sionem apud eum faciemus. Æternus Pater, et Filius, Spiritu suo Sancto vivificant, et renovant corda. In hâc consolatione, cum fide eriguntur, sicut Paulus inquit Gal. iii. Ut promissionem Spiritûs accipiat per Fidem.

Non igitur loquimur de otiosâ notitiâ : Et errant imperiti, qui existimant Remissionem Peccatorum contingere otiosis, sine aliquo motu animi, sine certamine, et sine sensu consolationis in veris doloribus, in eâ ætate quæ jam intelligere vocem doctrinæ potest, juxta illud ; *Fides ex auditu est, auditus per verbum Dei.* Et quia conscientiiis in pœnitentiâ consolationem proponimus, non addimus hic quæstiones de PRÆDESTINATIONE, seu de ELECTIONE ; sed deducimus omnes lectores ad verbum Dei, et jubemus ut voluntatem Dei ex verbo ipsius discant, sicut Æternus Pater expressâ voce præcipit, *Hunc audite.* Non quærant alias speculationes.

Certissimum est, prædicationem pœnitentiæ ad omnes homines pertinere, et accusare omnes homines. Ita et promissio universalis est, et omnibus offert Remissionem Peccatorum, juxta illa dicta universalialia : *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis ; ego reficiam vos.* Item Joan. iii. *Ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat.* Rom. x. *Omnis qui credit in eum, non confundetur.* Item, *Domini omniû, dives in omnes qui invocant eum.*
Rom.

Rom. xi. *Conclisit Deus omnes sub inobedientiam, ut omnium misereatur.*

In hanc universalem promissionem singuli se includant, et non indulgeant diffidentiae, sed luctentur ut adsentiantur verbo Dei, et obsequantur Spiritui Sancto, et juvari se petant, sicut dictum est, Lucæ xi. *Quanto magis dabit Spiritum Sanctum penitentibus?*

APPENDIX III.

EXTRACTS

FROM

OUR PRESENT LITURGY.



PASSAGES IN OUR LITURGY, ACCORDING TO THEIR REGULAR ORDER, TO (q) BE COMPARED WITH THE PRECEDING DECLARATIONS, IN ORDER TO MUTUAL ILLUSTRATION.

Exhortation. The Scripture moveth us, in sundry places, to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness—with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same.—Wherefore, I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace.

Confession. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults; restore thou them that are penitent.

(q) "If any thing in the Articles may seem to carry a double meaning, or may be said to be obscure, we have the Homilies, the Liturgy, the Rubrick, the Canons, whereby to be ascertained of the true import of the Articles." Pref. Disc. to an Exam. of Bp. Burnet's Expos. of the Articles, 1702, p. 13. "Several Collects in our Liturgy are the best comments on the Articles," Ibid. p. 21.

Absolution.

Absolution. Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live.—He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore, we beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his Holy Spirit, that those things may please him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy, so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Te Deum. We, therefore, pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Responses after the Creed. Make thy chosen people joyful. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

Athanasian Creed. Christ suffered for our salvation.

Litany. O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us miserable sinners.—Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood,—That it may please thee to give to all thy people increase of grace.—That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand, and to raise up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under
our

our feet.—That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men.—O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world !

Prayer for the Clergy and People. Send down upon our bishops and curates, and all congregations committed to their charge, the healthful spirit of thy grace.

General Thanksgiving. We bless thee, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ.

Collect for the first Sunday in Advent. Almighty God, give us grace, that we may cast away the works of darkness.

Collect for the fourth Sunday in Advent. That thy bountiful grace and mercy may speedily help and deliver us.

Collect for Christmas Day. Grant, that we, being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit.

Collect for Innocents' Day. O Almighty God, so strengthen us by thy grace, that by the innocency of our lives, and constancy of our faith even unto death, we may glorify thy holy name.

Collect for the Circumcision of Christ. Almighty God, who madest thy blessed Son to be circumcised and obedient to the law for man, grant to us the true circumcision of the Spirit.

Collect for the first Sunday after the Epiphany.
Grant

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Grant that they may both perceive and know what things they ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same.

Collect for the fourth Sunday after the Epiphany. O God, who knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright; grant to us such strength and protection, as may support us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations.

Collect for the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany. O Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy church and household continually in thy true religion, that they who do lean only upon the hope of thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty power.

Collect for the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany. O God, whose blessed Son was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil, and make us the sons of God, and heirs of eternal life; grant us, we beseech thee, that, having this hope, we may purify ourselves, even as he is pure.

Collect for Ash-Wednesday. Almighty God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that are penitent.

Collect for the second Sunday in Lent. Keep us inwardly in our souls, that we may be defended from all evil thoughts.

Collect

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Collect for the third Sunday in Lent. We beseech thee, Almighty God, look upon the hearty desires of thy humble servants, and stretch forth the right hand of thy majesty to be our defence against all our enemies.

Collect for the Sunday before Easter Day. Almighty God sent our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility.

First Collect for Good Friday. Almighty God, we beseech thee to behold this thy family, for which our Lord Jesus Christ was contented to suffer death upon the cross.

Third Collect for Good Friday. O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.

Collect for Easter Day. Almighty God, we humbly beseech thee, that as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect.

Collect for the second Sunday after Easter. Almighty God, who hast given thine only Son to be unto us both a sacrifice for sin, and also an
ensample

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ensample of godly life, give us grace that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable benefit, and also daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life.

Collect for the fifth Sunday after' Easter.
Grant unto us, that by thy holy inspiration we may think those things that be good.

Collect for the Sunday after Ascension Day.
Send to us thine Holy Ghost to comfort us.

Collect for Whitsunday. Grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgement in all things.

Collect for the first Sunday after Trinity. O God, because through the weakness of our mortal nature we can do no good thing without thee, grant us the help of thy grace, that in keeping thy commandments we may please thee, both in will and deed.

Collect for the seventh Sunday after Trinity.
Lord of all power and might, graft in our hearts the love of thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same.

Collect for the ninth Sunday after Trinity.
Grant to us, Lord, the spirit to think and to do always such things as be rightful, that we who cannot do any thing that is good without thee, may by thee be enabled to live according to thy will.

Collect

Collect for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity.
Grant unto us such a measure of thy grace.

Collect for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity.
Keep, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy church with thy perpetual mercy; and because the frailty of our nature without thee cannot but fall, keep us ever by thy help from all things hurtful.

Collect for the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity.
Lord, we pray thee, that thy grace may always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to be given to all good works.

Communion Service. The only begotten Son of God for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven. Nicene Creed.—Above all things we must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world. Exhortation before the Communion.—Almighty God hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance, and true faith, turn unto him. Absolution in the Communion Service.—Christ, the very Paschal Lamb, was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world. Preface to the Communion on Easter-Day.—Almighty God, of his tender mercy, did give his only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient
O sacrifice

sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. Prayer of Consecration.—The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee : the blood, which was shed for thee. At the Delivery of the Bread and Wine.—Humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace. We most heartily thank thee, that thou dost assure us, that we are heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. Prayer and Thanksgiving after receiving the Sacrament.

Publick Baptism of Infants. All men are conceived and born in sin :—None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost. I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that, of his bounteous mercy, he will grant to this child that thing which by nature he cannot have ; that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost ; and received into Christ's holy church ; and be made a lively member of the same.—We beseech thee, that thou wilt mercifully look upon this child, wash him, and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost :—We call upon thee for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration :—that the old Adam may be so buried,
that

that the new man may be raised up in him.—Ye have brought this child here to be baptized, ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive him, to release him of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, to give him the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life. Ye have heard also, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised, in his Gospel, to grant all these things which ye have prayed for; which promise he, for his part, will most assuredly keep and perform.—Seeing now that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits.—We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church. And humbly we beseech thee to grant, that he, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin.

Private Baptism of Infants. This child, being born in Original Sin, and in the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in Baptism received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life.

Baptism of such as are of riper years. Foras-

much as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and they that are in the flesh cannot please God, but live in sin, committing many actual transgressions; and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost; I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that, of his bounteous mercy, he will grant to these persons that which by nature they cannot have; that they may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost; and received into Christ's holy church; and be made lively members of the same.—Almighty God, grant that the persons, now to be baptized, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children.—Seeing now that these persons are regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto him, that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning.

Catechism. In my Baptism I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.—God the Son hath redeemed me and all mankind. God the Holy Ghost hath sanctified me, and all the elect people
of

of God.—I heartily thank our heavenly Father, that he hath called me to this state of salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; and I pray unto God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.—I desire my Lord God to send his grace unto me, and unto all people.

Confirmation Service. Do ye here, in the presence of God and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in your name at your Baptism; ratifying and confirming the same in your own persons, and acknowledging yourselves bound to believe, and to do, all those things which your godfathers and godmothers then undertook for you?—Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins; strengthen them, we beseech thee, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace.

Order for the Visitation of the Sick. Forasmuch as after this life there is an account to be given to the righteous judge, by whom all must be judged, without respect of persons; I require you to examine yourself, and your estate, both toward God and man; so that accusing and condemning yourself for your own faults, you may find mercy
at

198 *Extracts from our present Liturgy.*

at our heavenly Father's hand, for Christ's sake.—
Give him unfeigned repentance for all the errors
of his life past, and steadfast faith in thy Son Jesus,
that his sins may be done away by thy mercy, and
his pardon sealed in heaven, before he go hence,
and be no more seen.

Burial Service. O God, most mighty, O holy
and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy judge
eternal, suffer us not at our last hour, for any
pains of death, to fall from thee.—We give thee
hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to de-
liver this our brother out of the miseries of this sin-
ful world ; beseeching thee that it may please thee,
of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the
number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom.

APPENDIX IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE SUBSCRIPTION

OF THE

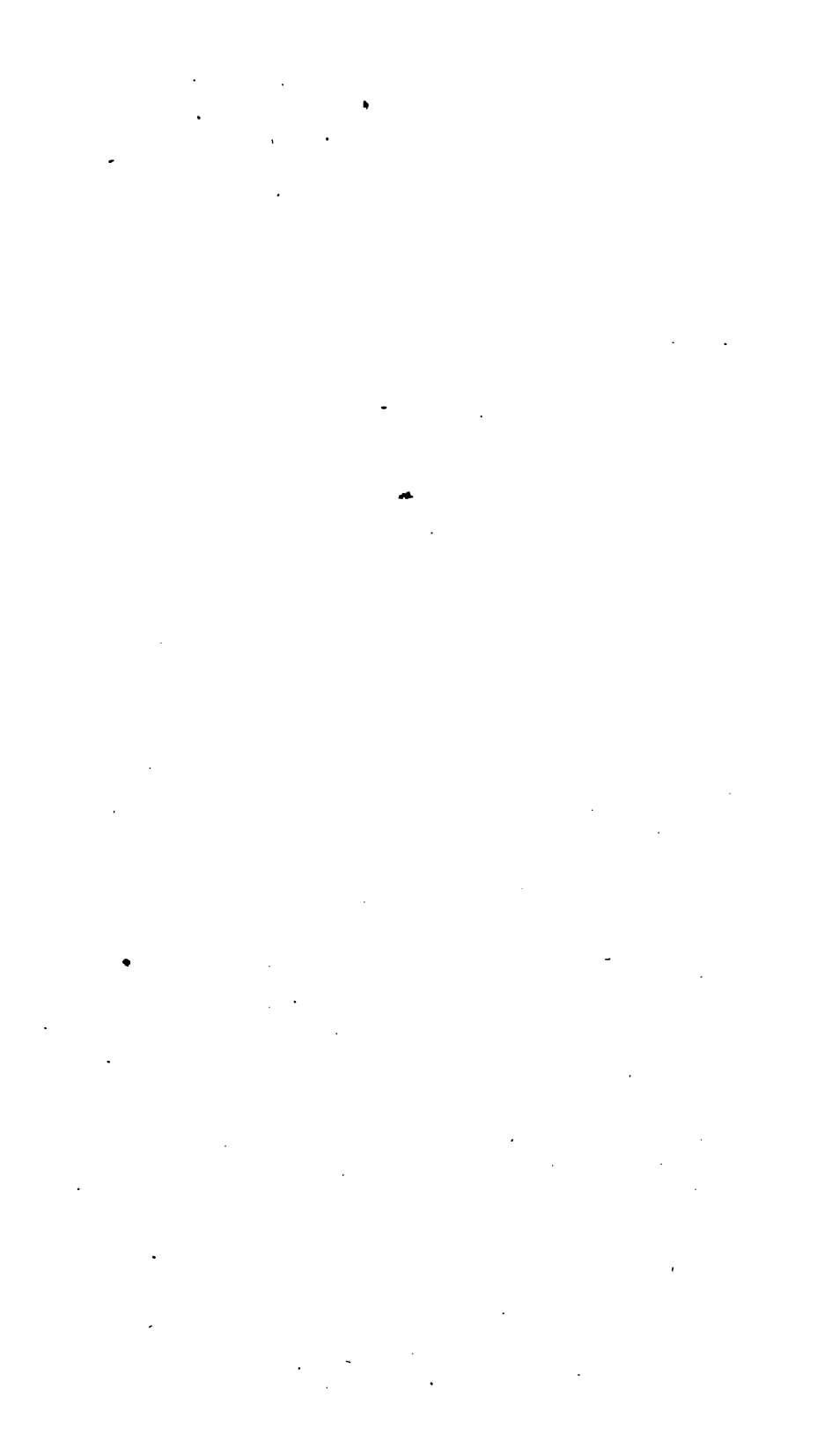
CONVOCATION

TO THE

ARTICLES OF RELIGION,

IN 1604.

THE



ACCOUNT OF THE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE THIRTY-
NINE ARTICLES IN THE YEAR 1604.

THE Subscription of the Convocation of the Clergy to the thirty-nine Articles of Religion, in 1604, is a most important circumstance; which, however, has been investigated with less precision than undoubtedly is due to it.

(r) "I do not find," Mr. Bennet says, in his elaborate Essay on the thirty-nine Articles, published in 1715, "that the Convocation ever had the Articles again (since 1571) before them, till the year 1604, when they subscribed them in a most solemn manner. They took a quarto copy of them, printed at London, in the year 1593, by the deputies of Christopher Barker, (which also has the controverted clause of the twentieth Article, to note that by the way,) bound up in vellum, with a quantity of paper annexed, sufficient for their purpose. And on the back side of the last page was written as follows :

'To all and singular the precedent Articles of Religion comprised in this booke, being in number

(r) Essay on the thirty-nine Articles of Religion, p. 358.

thirty-

thirty-nine, Wee the Byshops and whole Cleargy of the Prouince of Canterburie assembled in the Convocation holden at London, vppon a publique readinge and deliberate consideracion of the sayed Articles the 18th of May in the yeare of our Lord God 1604, haue willingly and with one acorde consented and subscribed.'

"Then, in the same page," as Mr. Bennet adds, "are the autographal subscriptions of Bancroft, bishop of London, president of the Convocation, and eight other bishops ; on the next page, those of ten other bishops ; on the two following, those of deans ; and on several other pages, those of archdeacons, proctors for chapters, and proctors for the clergy ;" whose names, Mr. Bennet has accurately transcribed. He proceeds to state, that "on the outside of this book is written as follows : *The Originall of the Articles subscribed, &c. 1562, and 1571. Subscribed againe 1604, in the beginninge of K. Jeames.* And note, that these words, *Subscribed againe, &c.* are manifestly written by archbishop Laud's own hand. And I conclude from the sameness of colour in the ink, that the word *and*, and the date 1571, were also written by him. So that the book had probably been his. However, it is reported, that it was once pawned for a pot of ale at a public house, and redeemed from thence by a person of curiosity ;

sity ; after whose death it came, with other books and papers, into the library of the Rev. Mr. Robert Foulkes, rector of Llanbeder and Llanvwrog in Denbighshire, in North Wales, to whom I here return my humble thanks for the use of it. I must further observe, that there are in this book some corrections made with the pen, viz. in the title-page, *kinges* for *queenes* ; the same in the 37th Article ; *his* for *her*, *ibid* ; *our late queene*, *ibid*. These corrections were probably previous to the subscription ; though I cannot give a good reason for them. I am sure, there was no necessity of them."

This is the plain statement of Mr. Bennet ; who might, however, if he had made proper investigation, have discovered a *reason* for these corrections, and consequently have admitted the *necessity* of them.

His statement gave rise to the following remark of Collins, who suffered not the record, thus described, to escape his sneers.

(s) " For what purpose, or reason," he says, " this subscription was required of the clergy, it seems not easy to know ; since it is to be presumed, that all the members of the Convocation

(r) Historical and Critical Essay on the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, 1724, p. 21.

had

had before, on divers occasions, given their assent to, and subscribed, the Articles. All that seems remarkable in this affair is, that the book laid before them for their subscription was *a quarto copy of the Articles printed in 1593, which had the controverted clause*; and not a copy printed in 1571, which as coming out immediately upon the last review, should seem most authentick, and most proper to have been subscribed. From whence it seems probable, that some leading dons among them had a view to the controverted clause; and that they would not lay a copy of the Articles, printed in 1571, before the Convocation, either because there was no copy printed, in that year, with the clause in it, or because they knew of none, no more than Heylin, and Laud, and Fuller, and Burnet, did afterwards. This noble record, after having undergone various fates, and particularly of having been pawned for a pot of ale, at a publick house, is now in a library of North Wales."

Such is the reasoning, and such the imagined triumph, of the infidel Collins. But we shall see how easily a little sober enquiry will overthrow unjust imagination; and how useful it is to clear up and explain a misrepresented point of history. For a learned and liberal Catholick of our own times, relying wholly on former accounts of
this

this remarkable subscription, has also said, that (*t*) "*for some reason, which does not now appear*, the Articles were confirmed, in 1604, by the Convocation of Canterbury."

It appears, that *the king sent the book of Articles* to the Convocation of the clergy, for the express purpose of having their approbation and their subscriptions *de novo* annexed to them. The alteration, therefore, of *king* and *his*, already noticed, was, no doubt, regularly and properly made in the book, before it was thus transmitted. The book was accompanied with a letter from the king; as we learn from the Journals of the Convocation. (*u*) "Anno. 1604. Sess. 16. May 18. The king's letter, with the Articles of 1562, to be by the Convocation approved and allowed.—The said Articles read and subscribed by both houses. *And the book, so subscribed, to be kept by the bishop of London, president.*"—(*x*) "Decimo octavo die mensis Maii dominus Rex Articulos Religionis anno MDLXII. promulgatos *Synodo mittit de novo ap-*

(*t*) Butler. Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Principal Protestant Churches. 1816. p. 73.

(*u*) Strype, Annals of the Reformation, book iv. p. 397. Synodus Anglicana, p. 180.

(*x*) Wilkins, Concilia Magna, tom. iv. p. 379.

probandos et subscribendos: quod etiam factum est."

The book of Articles having thus been sent, and subscribed, it will be proper to consider the causes of this royal message and convocational subscription. The oppositions of non-conformity, which were displayed in 1583, were now little abated. Accordingly, among the points discussed, during the Conference at Hampton Court in Jan. 1603—4, *the Articles of Religion* were one of the first. Dr. Reynolds, the leader of the puritans, (*y*) "moved his majesty, that the book of Articles of Religion, concluded [in] 1562, might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective." And afterwards, "he comes to *Subscription, both as to Articles and Liturgy*; (*z*) making the urging of it to be a great impeachment of a learned ministry; and therefore intreated, *it might not be exacted as heretofore.*" To these scruples the king himself replied; and after (*a*) "the bishop of London, *for the matter of Subscription*, had shewed his highness the three Articles, which the

(*y*) Sum and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Majesty to have with the Lords, Bishops, and others of his Clergy, Jan. 14, 1603. Contracted by William Barlow, D. D. and Dean of Chester, 4to. 1604, p. 24.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 90.

church-

church-men of England *are to approve by subscribing*, namely, the King's Supremacy, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Common Prayer, all which it pleased his majesty himself to read ;— he [the king] dilated how necessary subscription was in every well governed Church ; that it was to be urged for the keeping of peace : for as laws, to prevent killing, did provide there should be no quarrelling ; so, to prevent greater tumults in the Church, subscription was requisite.” A few days after this conference, the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical were published ; of which the thirty sixth requires the subscription both of such as are to be made ministers, and of such ministers as are to be admitted to benefices and licensed to lectures, *to those three Articles, which the bishop of London names* ; and to which, with very little variation, the clergy had before subscribed (*b*) in 1584, when they were called *the Articles of archbishop Whitgift*, but had not formed a part, as now they did, of a particular canon.

The Convocational Subscription to the Articles of Religion was therefore now made, and to the printed

(*b*) “ Of the *great subscription* urged from the pastors and ministers of the worde and sacramentes, in a great part of this lande, *the last yeare*, ye cannot be lightlie ignorant.” The English Creede, &c. by Thomas Rogers, fol. Lond. 1585. Pref. See also Strype and Heylin.

copy

copy of them, sent by the king, in which the (c) controverted clause of the twentieth Article was not omitted; in order that their unanimity might promote the general subscription now enacted, might shew *what copy of the Articles* the clergy were “*to approve by subscribing,*” and authenticate that in which the clause is found, according to their belief and solemn determination.

At the time of subscription in 1604, the see of Canterbury was vacant; and all the business, incumbent upon it, was committed to Bancroft, bishop of London, who, soon after this memorable Convocation, was advanced to the archbishoprick.

It is reasonable to suppose, that he took especial care of so important a book, so solemnly consigned to his custody; that it regularly passed into the hands of his successor, archbishop Abbot; and

(c) (That is, the first clause of the twentieth Article.) Besides the copies of 1571, which Bennet mentions as containing this clause, one was in 1811 met with and purchased by the late reverend and most learned Dr. Charles Burney, printed by Jugge and Cawood in English in 1571. I do not remember to have seen any observation, (and, it is in my humble opinion, a support of the belief of the authenticity of this clause,) that a copy of the Articles appeared in the year 1642, with this express notification in the title-page, “*Printed for the benefit of the Common-wealth, 1642,*” having no printer’s name to it, yet having the twentieth Article complete. I possess a copy of this remarkable edition.

from his into those of Laud, the next occupier of the primacy. That the private study of Laud was plundered, is notorious; it was a subject, indeed, of Laud's deepest grief. (d) "May 9, 1643. All my goods seized upon, books, and all." Such is the record in the archbishop's own diary; of which also he was plundered. His enemies ransacked all papers left by him in his study at Lambeth; and Prynne moreover took from the primate what papers he had carried with him, on his commitment to the tower; which were (e) "twenty one bundles of papers, his diary, his book of private devotions, the Scotch service-book, and directions accompanying it, &c." Of all these Prynne promised restitution; but he restored (f) "no more than three bundles, suppressed some, embezzled others, and kept the rest to the day of his death." Upon the death of Prynne, archbishop Sheldon, well knowing that the papers, taken by Prynne from Laud, (g) "either out of his study at Lambeth, or out of his chamber and pockets in the tower; or seized after his martyrdom," had been unjustly de-

(d) Archbp. Laud's Diary, published by Henry Wharton, p. 66.

(e) Henry Wharton's Preface to the Hist. and Troubles of Archbp. Laud.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

tained by him; procured an order from the king and council, deputing Sir William Dugdale and others to view the study of Prynne, and thence to bring to him all books and papers which had been Laud's. This was accordingly done; and a return was made of (*h*) "*both very much diminished in number.*" A colonel Scott has been recorded by Dr. Ducarel as a plunderer in 1644 of books and manuscripts in Lambeth Palace. Books and papers from the same place had also found a master in the infamous Hugh Peters. An order of Parliament in 1660, directs, "That *all books and papers* heretofore belonging to the library of the archbishop of Canterbury, and now, or lately, in the hands of Mr. Hugh Peters, be forthwith secured." But (as I have elsewhere observed) after the grant of them to such a man, and after such a lapse of time, how could the order prove entirely effectual? We see also how partial the recovery was from the heaps pilfered by Prynne. Selden, by whatever means he obtained it, possessed the earlier copy of the convocational subscription, *which certainly had been in the possession of Laud.* The archbishop, (*i*) "in his speech in the star-chamber, tells us, that he had (not in his office or public registry, but)

(*h*) Henry Wharton's Preface to the Hist. and Troubles of archbp. Laud.

(*i*) Bennet, Ess. on the 39 Art. p. 275.

in his own hands, that is, in his *(k) paper-study*, as he elsewhere calls it, the book [of Articles] of 1563 subscribed by all the lower house of convocation in 1571. And the same is now in the Bodleian Library, and came in *as one of Mr. Selden's books*. Whether the archbishop's *paper-study* at Lambeth was a room set apart for the custody of such papers as were to be lodged in the hands of the archbishops themselves, and so descend to their successors, and remain in their own immediate custody, and not in their public offices; (for there is at present no room called the *paper-study*, and that archiepiscopal seat has undergone vast alterations in and since those dismal times;) and whether upon this account archbishop Laud said, that that copy was in his own hands; let others judge. It is too

(k) There was a room in the palace, called, in the time of Elizabeth or James the first, "the little studie at the end of the gallerye on the left hand," besides another called "the place of records." Perhaps the former was the room, which the archbishop mentions by this name of the *paper-study* in the narration of his troubles and trial. It is clear, that it had been customary to commit the books, thus subscribed, to the custody of the presidents of the Convocation. Thus in 1562, "Clerusque universus eosdem [Articulos] etiam unanimiter et recepit, et professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, *quas obtulit et deposuit apud eundem reverendissimum, &c.*" And thus in 1604, "the book, so subscribed, to be kept by the bishop of London, president."

plain that *every corner of that great prelate's palace was shamefully pillaged; and no wonder that Mr. Selden got so great a curiosity in such times.*"

The copy of 1604 appears to have fallen into the possession of some person, who knew not or disregarded its value. That it had been in the hands of Laud, is clear from the writing on the outside of the book, which I firmly believe to be his, having compared it with other remains of his pen. That it is an original record, the preceding pages have shown.

The remaining history of this record will be found in the two following letters, which I am now graciously permitted, by the archbishop of Canterbury, here to publish; and in the declaration of the chaplain of archbishop Potter, who deposited it, where it is now preserved, in the archiepiscopal library of Lambeth Palace.

"REV. SIR,

"I UNDERSTAND by Mr. Davis, that the copy of the 39 Articles, subscribed in 1604, is yours. I think myself obliged, therefore, to acquaint you, that I have transcribed the subscriptions, and that I beg your leave to print them in a book I am now about publishing, wherein I give a critical and historical account of that subject. I think I have

have scraped together every thing that may illustrate it, and preserve that momentous transaction to posterity, which may otherwise be more in the dark concerning it, than we ourselves are at present, who have, notwithstanding, lost our records in the fire of London. *This little book, Sir, which a good Providence has made you master of, is a very great curiosity, and contains the most regular subscription, that, I believe, was ever made to the Articles.* This inclines me to hope, (and could an obscure stranger prevail with you, I would presume to intreat,) that you will be pleased to bestow this rarity upon such a public library, as may secure it to after ages; and that if you will suffer me to write a chapter in my book, (ten sheets of which are actually printed,) upon this small volume, you will augment the favour by acquainting me, what society you will deposit it with, that I may have the honor of making the gift and the benefactor known to the world, and direct others where to find what they will be as desirous to see as myself. Nothing, Sir, can add to this favour, unless I may dare to name the place. The great and flourishing society of St. John's College, in Cambridge, where 'twas my happiness to receive my education, is already furnished with a large stock of this nature, having lately been enriched with a variety of ancient and
scarce

scarce copies of the Articles, more than any place besides, or, perhaps, than the whole world can equal. Their library is truly noble and famous; and I could heartily wish, and can't forbear beseeching you, to make this excellent addition to their store, which has lately been deposited there by the respective benefactors for the benefit of after ages, though the donors themselves are persons entirely different in their principles and interests, and not one of them ever was of that foundation; as will appear by the account I shall give of them. I have nothing further to request, but that you would excuse my boldness, which, my zeal for the public good has pushed me to express, and that you will suffer me to promise you a copy of what, I hope, I shall soon get finished. I am,

“ Rev. Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ THO. BENNET.”

“ Colchester, March 29, 1714.”

Superscribed,

To the Rev. Dr. FOULKES.”

“ REV.

“REV. SIR,

“YOUR kind letter came to Colchester, whilst I was at this place. At length it reached me. I'm heartily glad your book is safe in your hands, and return you my humble thanks, once more, for the use of it. My Essay is now abroad, and Mr. Davis has a copy for you, which I earnestly desire you to accept, as a testimony of my gratitude. I can't but still press you, for the sake of the public, to lodge this valuable curiosity in St. John's Library, at Cambridge, where I will take care that your kindness shall not be forgotten. Magdalen Library is so obscure, that nobody will ever hear of it, or see it there. But a very great number of the papers I use, are actually in St. John's already; and this will, consequently, be as public as those: for I expressly refer my readers thither. I can't but believe, that these considerations will prevail upon you. For I really urge what I'm sure is for the advantage of the public, as you must be sensible. I intend for Colchester the latter end of this month; shall be at Cambridge the first Sunday in July, and a few days before and after; shall then return to Colchester, and about the middle of July to this place again. If your affairs lead you near any of these places,
the

the smallest notice will oblige me to wait on you
and make you my personal acknowledgments for
your great kindness to,

“ Rev. Sir,

“ Your most grateful,

“ And most obedient humble servant,

“ T. BENNET.”

“ Chelsea College, near London, May 12, 1715.”

Superscribed,

“ To the Rev. Mr. FOULKES, Rector of Llanbeder, near
Ruthin, in North Wales.”

- This record is kept among the manuscripts, in
the Library of Lambeth Palace, and is numbered
879. The preceding letters are loosely inserted in
the book.

In the manuscript catalogue in the Library,
which carries the list of manuscripts as far as No.
888, the following attestation is affixed to No.
879. “ This book was delivered to the Most
Reverend Father in God, John Potter, Lord
Archbishop of Canterbury; and was, by his
Grace’s command, deposited in Lambeth Library,
among the MSS. together with two letters from
Dr. T. Bennet, to Mr. Foulkes, Rector of Llan-
beder, near Ruthin, North Wales. Witness my
hand, Edm. Bateman, his Grace’s Chaplain, 3d
May, 1738.”

APPENDIX V.

ON SUBSCRIPTION

TO THE

ARTICLES OF RELIGION.



THE REASONABLENESS OF REQUIRING SUBSCRIPTION TO ARTICLES OF RELIGION FROM PERSONS TO BE ADMITTED TO HOLY ORDERS, OR A CURE OF SOULS, VINDICATED IN A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF OXFORD, IN THE YEAR 1771. BY THOMAS RANDOLPH, D. D. PRESIDENT OF CORP. CHR. COLL. LADY MARGARET'S PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, AND ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

IT has not been my custom, nor that of my predecessors, to detain you with a Charge on every Visitation. You stand not, I think, in need of such frequent admonitions, either to instruct you in your duty, or to enforce on you the practice of it. And it may perhaps seem less necessary now, than ever, to give myself, and you, this trouble, when you have so lately received such an excellent Charge from your worthy Diocesan. It might be sufficient to exhort you seriously to call to mind the good instructions, which you then received, and diligently to follow them.

.But

But an attempt lately set on foot, and carried on with great zeal, to set aside all *Subscription to our Articles and Liturgy*, has made me think it incumbent on me to deliver to you my sentiments on this head. I shall confine myself to what chiefly concerns us of the clergy, the reasonableness of requiring *Subscription to Articles of Religion* from persons to be admitted to holy orders, or to a cure of souls.

And I hope I need not employ many words to convince you that persons, who are to be teachers of others, should be themselves *sound in the faith*, and should give to those, who ordain and appoint them, some proof, and assurance, that they are so. (l) St. Paul directs Timothy to *commit those things which he had heard to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also*; (m) and to ordain such deacons only, as *hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience*. (n) And he commissions Titus to ordain such *elders in every city, as hold fast the faithful word, as they had been taught, that they might be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort, and to convince the gainsayers*. And this is agreeable to reason, as well as Scripture. In affairs of less concern, and importance, would you employ a man to teach others, who did

(l) 2 Tim. ii. 2.

(m) 1 Tim. iii. 9.

(n) Tit. i. 9.

not understand, or who misunderstood, the things he was to teach? Soundness of doctrine is indeed the principal thing to be required in a Christian teacher. Ignorant persons are certainly no way qualified to be teachers. But error is worse than ignorance: a blind guide being more eligible than a self sufficient one, who would purposely carry you the wrong way. Nor does a bad life so immediately affect the people under the teacher's care, as erroneous principles do. The people may receive profit from the good doctrine of a wicked minister, and need not copy after his bad example. But the appointment of erroneous and false teachers is inconsistent with the very end and design of such appointment; which is to instruct the people in the truth, and (as the Apostle speaks) *by sound doctrine, both to exhort, and to convince the gainsayers.*

Accordingly in all ages of the Church great care has been taken to enquire into the religious principles of persons to be admitted into orders, or to a cure of souls, though different methods may have been pursued in different times, and places. This method of requiring *Subscription to known Articles of Faith*, seems to be the least exceptionable of any. If no such *Subscription* were required by publick authority, every Bishop would

would doubtless be bound to enquire into the religious principles of those, who offered themselves for holy orders, and to reject all such, as he judged to be unsound in the faith. But is it not much for the ease of the Bishop to have a certain rule to go by? and is he not hereby freed from the odious, and invidious, task of judging of men's faith, and rejecting candidates arbitrarily, according to his own private opinion? And with regard to the candidates, is it not much better to know previously what test of their orthodoxy will be required of them, than to be subject to the caprice of one man, and run the risk of a refusal, without knowing what account of their faith will be demanded? And with regard to the Church, a test agreed upon by the whole body of the Bishops and Clergy, is certainly a better and securer way of keeping false and erroneous teachers out of the Church, than the leaving the matter to the discretion of each private Bishop, some of whom might happen themselves to be ignorant, indolent, or unsound in the faith. One would hope that so easy, so equitable, and so well approved, a method of proving the faith of candidates for the ministry would meet with but little opposition. But loud has been the clamour against such *Subscription*, and many are the objections.

One

(o) One chief thing objected is that *this Subscription* interferes with the rights of private judgement, and is an infringement of our Christian liberty.—But whose liberty, or what liberty, is hereby infringed? A test required of candidates for the ministry can affect those only, who desire such office. And these are every one still left at liberty to judge for themselves, and think as they please. If they approve not the doctrines of our *Articles*, they are at liberty whether they will *subscribe* to them, or not. No one compels them to *subscribe*, or assent, to these doctrines. We only refuse to admit into the ministry those, who in points, which we judge important, think differently from us. And herein the governors of our Church have as much right to judge for themselves, as these objectors have. Each Bishop might, and must, have exercised the same right, if nothing herein had been defined by publick authority. If any one like not our terms, he may apply himself to some other profession, or business, and has no reason to complain of any injury done him.

(p) But is not hereby many a conscientious minister laid under the unhappy dilemma of either

(o) Confessional, p. 32, 33. Proposals for an Application to Parliament.

(p) Ibid. p. 31, 164.

subscribing,

subscribing, or starving? I scarce know how to give a serious answer to such questions—ministers—but we are speaking of those, who *desire the office of a minister*. (q) And of these not only a *pure conscience* is required, but that they *hold the mystery of the faith*. If they are not suffered to enter into the ministry, are there no other businesses, or professions, by which they might get an honest livelihood? Is there no bread to be got by any other means, but only by thrusting themselves into the ministry? Our clergy are indeed in general so meanly provided for, and the rich benefices and preferments confined to so few, that we can scarce think men in earnest, who pretend that they are reduced to the necessity of starving, by being kept out of the ministry. Instances of these starving, conscientious non-subscribers, are, I believe, very rare.

But it is said, that we are hereby deprived of the labours of worthy men.—If by *worthy men* are meant fit persons, we must beg leave to deny that those, who hold things *contrary to sound doctrine*, are worthy men. Such men may be sincere in their profession, and of unblameable life and conversation. They may be also men of good learning and abilities: but, notwithstanding all

(q) 1 Tim. iii. 9.

these qualifications, we cannot think them fit to be entrusted with the ministry of the Gospel, if they *err concerning the faith*. Nor do I deny that some have had scruples concerning some of our *Articles*, and have been thereby debarred from serving in the ministry, who would have done good service to the Church. But this I will be bold to say, that we have not wanted their assistance. No Church has produced greater ornaments of the Christian profession than the CHURCH OF ENGLAND has, in all ages since its first establishment to this day. And for the proof of this I may appeal to the annals of our history, and to your own knowledge and experience.

(e) Another thing pretended is, that requiring *Subscription* to forms of human composition, is adding to the rule of faith. We do not set up our *Articles* for a rule of faith, or appeal to them as such. Nor do we prove our doctrines by our *Articles*, but from Scripture only, which we acknowledge to be *the sole rule of faith*, by which alone the truth of all doctrines, and of our *Articles* themselves, must be tried. Our *Articles* themselves teach that (f) *the holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved*

(e) Confessional, ch. vi.

(f) Art. vi.

thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite, or necessary, to salvation. But though our Church pretends not to be infallible, (g) yet she claims the same right, as has been claimed, and exercised, by all Christian Churches, (h) of taking care that her clergy teach no other doctrine, but what she judges to be true, and agreeable to Scripture, and of requiring of them proper security that they shall do so. Our *Articles*, though we trust that the truth of them may be proved by Scripture, are not imposed on any man, much less on all men, as articles of faith necessary to salvation, but rather as articles of enquiry, whereby to discover, whether those who offer themselves for the ministry are *apt to teach*, and hold the true doctrine of Scripture. Some such enquiry it would be the duty of every Bishop

(g) The necessity of this is acknowledged, and contended for, by Calvin, who in his Epistle to the Protector of England, thus expresses himself: "*Claudenda est enim janua curiosis doctrinis. Ratio autem expedita ad eam rem una est, si extet nempe summa quædam doctrinæ ab omnibus recepta, quam inter prædicandum sequantur omnes, ad quam etiam observandam omnes Episcopi et Parochi jurejurando adstringantur, ut nemo ad munus ecclesiasticum admittatur, nisi spondeat illum doctrinæ consensum sibi inviolatum futurum.*"

(h) See 1 Tim. i. 3.

to

to make with regard to all such candidates, if there were no form of *Articles* prescribed.

(i) But is not a declaration that we will teach nothing but what we are persuaded may be concluded, and proved, by the Scripture a sufficient test of our orthodoxy? It is such a test, as would admit into the ministry popish priests, jesuits, and all the wildest sectaries: for all these pretend to found their doctrines on Scripture.

(k) But do we think that new and unscriptural words will better fix the sense of Scripture-doctrine than the words of Christ, and his Apostles? We acknowledge the Scriptures to be sufficiently clear in all matters necessary to salvation. But what if men *wrest these Scriptures?* explain away the plainest texts of Scripture, and pretend to prove the most erroneous and pernicious doctrines from Scripture? Are such men to be entrusted with the ministry of the Gospel, and commissioned to teach these erroneous doctrines? What then is to be done in this case? I know of no better way of security against such deceivers than by drawing up *Articles* explaining such Scriptures as these men have perverted, and guarding against their misconstructions. Thus, for instance, the

(i) Confessional, p. 16.338.

(k) Ibid. p. 19.

words of St. John : (l) *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, are clear, and plain to any common understanding. But, if men will evade the force of such plain texts by subtle distinctions, and tell us that Christ is only a secondary, and inferior kind of God ; a God by office only, and not by nature ; a God in the same sense only, as angels, as Moses, and other men, are called gods ; as we think such interpreters of Scripture not qualified to be teachers of the Gospel, we judge it necessary to guard against these evasions. If we are on this account forced to make use of new terms, the novelty is chargeable, not on us, but on them. And it may be easily shewn, (m) and indeed has been shewn, that every Article, both of the Nicene and Athanasian Creed, which they exclaim so bitterly against, was occasioned by the new and unscriptural distinctions of subtle corrupters of the faith. Nor could we guard against the errors of popery, and other sectaries, but by new words expressly condemning the unscriptural doctrines, which they had introduced. The very persons,

(l) John i. 1.

(m) See Waterland's Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, chap. x.

who make this objection, in their writings, and discourses, deliver themselves in words not occurring in Scripture, and think they can make the doctrines of Scripture more plain by words of their own devising. Why then will they not allow the governors of the Church to guard against the misconstruction of vain talkers and deceivers by words adapted to this purpose? If this is not allowed, we can, (as I said before) have no fence to prevent popish emissaries, or any false teachers whatsoever, from thrusting themselves into the ministry.

Another common objection is, that this authority claimed by our Church to establish confessions, will equally serve to vindicate the Church of Rome with regard to her impositions. But the case is in many respects widely different. Not to mention that the doctrines established by the Church of Rome are manifestly false, and repugnant to Scripture, which we can prove ours not to be; we require those, who are to be entrusted with the ministry and government of our Church, to subscribe to our *Articles*: the Church of Rome requires her additions to the faith to be believed by all men, laity as well as clergy, under penalty of damnation; and thunders out her anathemas against all, who will not receive her decisions on every point. We disclaim, and abhor, all persecution ;

cution : that Church persecutes all who dissent from her with fire and faggot.

Again, that Church lays claim to infallibility, usurps an absolute authority over men's consciences, and denies all right of private judgement in matters of faith. We pretend not to be infallible : we permit, and desire, all men to judge for themselves. But then the governors of our Church claim the same right, which they allow to others, of judging for themselves, and acting accordingly. And in virtue of this right, they think themselves entitled to judge what doctrines are fit to be taught in the Church, and what securities are to be required of those, who enter into the ministry, that they teach no other doctrine. (n) This power was exercised by all Christian Churches, before the establishment of popery : and has been claimed by all Protestant Churches ever since the Reformation. One chief end indeed of *Protestant Confessions*, and of our *Articles* in particular, was to be a fence against *Popery* : and, I humbly apprehend, that we cannot do a thing more acceptable to the Romish Church, or more serviceable to their cause, than to throw down this fence.

(n) See Bingham Antiq. b, iv. ch. 3. l. 2.

It is farther said, that by repealing the laws requiring *Subscription*, we shall prevent the evil consequences of dissention, and secure the peace of our Church. But why should *Subscription* destroy this peace? Why may not persons of different persuasions, and communions, live in peace, and mutual charity? We bear no hatred, or malice, to those who dissent from us: nor do we desire to persecute, or injure, them. If they will suffer us to be at peace, we shall not molest them. If they approve not the doctrines of our *Articles*, they need not subscribe to them. If they dislike not the terms of our Communion, we compel them not to come in: they have a full toleration to repair to any conventicle they like best, or to set up one for themselves. Again, would the repeal of these laws promote, or restore, peace? Would persons of different persuasions be less zealous in defence of their respective tenets, or treat their opponents with less severity? Would our sectaries, if admitted within the pale of the Church, be more quiet within doors, than they are without? (o) The bitter and virulent invectives, which have been published against our Church, and against some of its brightest ornaments, give us little room to hope for peace, by compliance with such men's clamorous demands.

(o) See Confessional from beginning to end.

(p) Nor do we think it would promote, either peace, or edification, if all men of all persuasions were allowed, and commissioned, to teach in our Churches whatever doctrines they pleased. Would not rather every parish have a system of divinity peculiar to itself? and perhaps in the same Church, one doctrine might be preached in the morning, and another quite different set forth with equal authority in the afternoon? And thus that glorious confusion would soon take place, which infidels wish for, and the Church of Rome would rejoice to see. And many well-disposed persons, not knowing where to find the Church of England, would take refuge in Popery. The experiment was in great measure tried last century, [the seventeenth;] and the consequence was not peace, but strife, and confusion, and every evil work. We may well hope that our governors, both in Church and State, will have more regard to their own peace, and that of the publick, than to be willing to repeat the experiment.

Another objection is, that such forms of faith will not prevent diversity of opinions, but only tempt men to turn hypocrites. If the best method we can think of *to avoid diversities of opinions, and establish consent touching true religion*, has, through the per-

(p) See Mr. White's Append. to his three Letters, p. 70.

verseness and corruption of mankind, a contrary effect, surely not *we*, but these hypocrites, are to blame. But we cannot think it a good reason for throwing down all the fences of our vineyard, because some wild boars will sometimes break through them. There is nothing but what may be perverted, and abused, by *men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth*. Even the Gospel of Peace has given occasion to division, and contention. Oaths were designed to put an end to all strife; to secure obedience to the laws, and allegiance to the sovereign. And yet we have too many instances of men's swearing to falsehoods; of taking oaths of allegiance, and immediately breaking out into Rebellion. When this is allowed as a reason for requiring no such *Oaths*, then it may be urged as an argument for abolishing all *Subscriptions*. But if men will trifle with *Oaths*, and *Subscriptions*, it is their fault, and not that of the imposers.

But the loudest clamour is against such of our *Articles*, as have been thought to favour the doctrine of Calvin. And here we are to combat with enemies of all sorts. The followers of Arius, and Socinus, make this a plea for subscribing the *Articles* in their own sense: and pretend that all, who are not the disciples of Calvin, are guilty of the like prevarication. And some among ourselves, who pretend indeed to be the only true members of the
Church

Church of England, (q) join in the cry, and accuse all, who are not as rigid Calvinists as themselves, of equivocation and hypocrisy; of impiously setting their hands to doctrines, which in their hearts they never assented to.

As these heavy charges against us may have disturbed the minds of some well-disposed persons, it may be proper to look back into the first occasion, and design, of such *Articles*. (r) The thing, which gave the first occasion to the Reformation begun by Luther, was the scandalous practice of selling *papal indulgences*. This gave rise to disputes about the merit of *Good Works*: and this again opened a door to controversies about *God's Grace*, and *Free Will*, and other nice and difficult points. In these matters the first reformers differed from one another: and some of them, and particularly Luther himself, were in the heat of controversy betrayed into some unguarded and unwarrantable expressions. And, what was still worse, others, setting up for reformers, broached many erroneous and pestilent doctrines. Some denied the *Divinity of our Blessed Saviour*: others denied the necessity of *Good Works*, and held that the saints could not

(q) See *Pietas Oxon.* p. 28.68.

(r) See Sleidan, Seckendorf, and other historians of those times.

sin ; and under this pretence brake out into sedition, and committed the grossest enormities. The Papists made great advantages of these differences among Protestants. They pretended that, by forsaking the Catholick Church, men were led into endless disputes : and they charged the hasty assertions of particular writers, or errors of false teachers and wild enthusiasts, upon the Protestants in general. (s) This laid the Protestants under a necessity of vindicating themselves. And to this end they drew up that celebrated CONFESSION OF FAITH, which they presented to the diet of AUGSBURG. In this they had two views, first, to acquit themselves of the scandal of abetting wild and seditious enthusiasts, and to declare to all the World what were their real doctrines : secondly, to prevent such enthusiasts on the one hand, and Popish emissaries on the other, from intruding themselves into their ministry. And herein they proceeded with great prudence and moderation. The disputes, which had arisen on these points, obliged them in some sort to declare their sentiments concerning them. But then they drew up their *Articles* in general, and

(s) The very same account of this affair is given by the author of the Confessional, and he acknowledges this necessity, and thereby effectually confutes himself. See Confessional, p. 4, 5. and Second Letter to the author, p. 23.

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comprehensive, terms. They condemned on the one hand the Papists, who asserted the merit of *Good Works*, and on the other hand the Antinomians, who denied the necessity of them. And again they condemned the Pelagians, who denied the necessity of *God's Grace*: and on the other hand the Anabaptists, and others, who denied all *Free-Will*. (t) But they so worded their *Articles*, as to comprehend all those, who thought soberly, and moderately, on these points, though they differed from one another in the manner of explaining them. Our reformers here in England in King Edward the Sixth's Time went on the same plan,

(t) It is remarkable that there were the like disputes about *Predestination*, and *Grace* in the Romish Church before the Council of Trent, as have been since among the Protestants; that these points were warmly debated in that Council; and that they they purposely framed their decrees in such manner, as to satisfy both parties; that these parties continued their disputes during the sitting of that Council, and each party claimed the authority of the Council on their side; but the fathers, there assembled, never thought fit to explain their own decrees, or decide this controversy. But these differences still subsist in that Church among those who subscribe to the decrees of the Council of Trent. Though this procedure may seem rather unaccountable in a Church which claims an infallible power of deciding all controversies, yet I cannot but applaud their prudence, and wish they had shewn the like moderation in other points. See F. Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, b. ii. Heylin's Hist. Quinquart. Controv. c. 3.

and

and acted with the like prudence and moderation.

(u) They were no disciples of Calvin: but they so drew up their *Articles*, as to include persons of different persuasions in these points. In Queen Elizabeth's reign these *Articles* were reviewed, and received some alterations; and this is the form of *Articles*, which we now subscribe to. But the Convocation, who drew up these *Articles*, though it must be owned that many of them had then imbibed the sentiments of Calvin, yet observed the same moderation as their predecessors had done: nor did they add *one single Article* in favour of Calvinism. The *seventeenth Article*, which treats of *Predestination*, is drawn up without any mention of *absolute Reprobation*, and tells us that *we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; which (w)* (as the learned Mr. Strype observes) seems to have been done to prevent any scruple, which might arise to any Protestant against *subscribing the said Articles*. (x) And accordingly, when soon after dis-

(u) See this proved in Dr. Nowell's *Answer to Pietas Oxon.* p. 76, &c.

(w) *Annals of the Reformation*, c. 28. See also Third Letter to author of *Confessional*, p. 33, &c. Dr. Fothergill's Postscript to Sermon on Is. 42, 24. Bull *Apologia pro Harmoniâ*. Waterland's Supplement to Case of Arian Subscription.

(x) See Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, App. b, iv. N°. 25.

putes

putes ran high on these points, the Calvinists attempted to add *new Articles*, and gave this reason for it, that these points were not before concluded, and defined, by publick authority.

What then is required of us when we are called upon to *subscribe* our *Articles*? and in what sense do we *subscribe* them? Our *Subscription* is, as I apprehend, a declaration of our belief, and assent to the truth of the doctrines contained in the *Articles*: and we are required to *subscribe* them in the sense of the imposers. We are not to *subscribe* them in our own sense, or in any sense, which we can possibly put upon the words: for this would in all other cases be esteemed downright prevarication. Nor are we to *subscribe* them so far only, as they are agreeable to Scripture: for this is no *Subscription* at all. This amounts to a declaration that we think *these Articles agreeable to Scripture so far only as they are agreeable to Scripture*, which (y) (as Bishop Conybeare justly observes) is *as much trifling with common sense, as with common honesty*. But how are we to know the sense of the imposers? I suppose it may in most cases be judged of from the plain, usual, and literal signification of the words used. Where the words of the *Article* are plain, and determinate, there can be no doubt of

(y) Sermon on Tim. vi. 3, 4. p. 25.

its meaning. Where doctrines are expressly asserted, or errors expressly condemned, those who disbelieve the doctrines so asserted, or hold the errors so condemned, cannot honestly subscribe. (No Papist can conscientiously *subscribe to our Articles*: most of the peculiar tenets of Popery, the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church, the Merit of Good Works, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, the Worship of Images and Relicks, and Invocation of Saints, are therein expressly condemned. No Socinian, or Arian, can honestly *subscribe an Article*, which asserts that in the Unity of the Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity. No one, who denies the necessity of Divine Grace, can *subscribe to the tenth Article*: nor can any one, who denies the necessity of Good Works, *subscribe to the Twelfth*.) (2) But then there are several *Articles* purposely worded in general terms. To these, persons, who agree in the general doctrine there delivered, may honestly subscribe, though they are of different persuasions in the explication of this general doctrine. And in this case we are to enquire what general doctrine the imposers designed to require our assent to, not what were their private opinions with regard to the particular ex-

(2) See Dr. Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription, p. 40. Second Letter to the author of the Confessional, p. 136, &c. p. 160, &c. Dr. Nowell's Answer to Pietas Oxon, p. 119, &c. plications

plications of it. There is a plain instance of this in the 23d Article, which teaches that *it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministring the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called, and sent, which be chosen, and called to this work by men, who have publick authority given to them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.* Who those are, is not here determined. The compilers were not willing to condemn, or unchurch, the Reformed Churches abroad: and therefore prudently avoided determining the question whether episcopal ordination is necessary. Those who hold, and those who deny, the necessity of episcopal ordination, may both subscribe to this Article: those only are condemned by it, who hold that a man may preach without any lawful vocation. A like instance of moderation is plainly to be seen in the 28th Article. (a) They purposely avoided defining the manner of *Christ's presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* Nay, they struck out part of an Article among those drawn up in King Edward the Sixth's time, which seemed to deny all corporal presence,

(a) Bp. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 3. p. 405.

and

and which therefore the Lutherans might scruple *subscribing* to: and contented themselves with condemning those only, who held the doctrine of transubstantiation, or affirmed, that *the body of Christ was eaten after a carnal manner*. The like caution they have observed in *those Articles* relating to *Predestination, Free-Will, &c.* They worded ~~them~~ in general terms, that persons, who were of different persuasions in several particulars relating to ~~them~~, might yet subscribe, as agreeing in the general doctrine there delivered. (b) They went, as a Calvinistical writer (bishop Hall) observes, a mid-way between both, guarding against the extremes on each side; on one hand condemning the *Papists*, who ascribed a merit to *Good Works*, and on the other the *Antinomians*, who denied the necessity of them. Whenever therefore we *subscribe to these Articles*, we do not *subscribe* in contrary, or different, senses. We all *subscribe* to the same general sense, though, in explaining the particulars relating to it, we use that liberty of judgement, which the Church hath purposely left to us.

However, if the oppugners of our Articles would be content with expunging *these Articles*, we might, if by this means peace might be obtained, be possibly willing to comply with them. There may per-

(b) Via media.

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haps be less occasion for such *Articles* now, than there was in those times. But this is not all they contend for. They inveigh against all *Subscriptions* in general: nay, we must part with our (c) *Liturgy* too, and our *Creeds*. The principal thing indeed, which seems to be aimed at by most of these reformers, is the doctrine of the Trinity, so plainly taught, both in our *Articles*, and our *Liturgy*. This has been always from the very beginning of Christianity thought an essential *Article of Faith*: and, if any come unto us, and bring not this doctrine, we may, and ought, to shut our gates against him. I cannot indeed but wonder how men of this persuasion should expect, or desire, to be included in communion with those who believe our Blessed Saviour's Divinity. If we believe Christ, and the Holy Spirit, to be really and truly God, we ought in our publick prayers to ascribe to them the titles, the honour, the worship, due to God: if we do not

(c) One argument used against *Subscription to the Liturgy* is, that such requisition of *Subscription* must eventually preclude all improvement in a *Liturgy*; which is confuted by fact, there having at different times been several additions, and improvements, made in our *Liturgy*. By our *Subscription* we only declare that the *Book of Common Prayer*, &c. containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully be used, and that we ourselves will use it. And what is there herein, which should forbid, or prevent, the governor of our Church from making improvements in our *Liturgy*?

believe

believe this, we cannot, I think, pay them such honours without idolatry. How then can there be any communion between persons of sentiments so diametrically opposite? how can they join in worship, who have not the same object of worship? Far be it from me to desire to persecute them, or injure them in the least, in their persons, or possessions: but surely we may exclude them from our communion, and much more from our ministry, without any breach of charity. But neither, if this point were given up, will they be contented. No; they declare against *all Subscriptions, except only the truth of the Holy Scriptures*, which would let in (as I observed before) not only Arians, but Papists, and all the wildest sectaries. They protest against all impositions, and such they call all human ordinances: but without something of this kind there could be neither establishment, nor Church, nor indeed any publick worship.

If any of us then should think that some things in our *Articles*, or *Liturgy*, might be amended, (as no human composition can be free from all imperfections,) yet let us take care how we listen to the plausible suggestions of those, who under the pretence of the reformation of our Church strike at the very foundation of it. And this especially at this time, when a spirit of licentiousness seems to be prevailing, and a contempt of all government, which
threatens

threatens the subversion of our happy constitution, both in Church and State. But I have already detained you too long, and therefore shall conclude with exhorting you all to *(d) hold fast the faithful word, as you have been taught: (d) and avoid them which cause divisions, and offences, contrary to the doctrine, which ye have learned. Let no man deceive you with vain words. Give no assistance, countenance, or encouragement, to these innovators, who under the pretence of reformation would privily bring in damnable heresies. (e) Fear God, and honour the king; and meddle not with them that are given to change.*

(d) Tit. i. 9.

(e) Rom. xvi. 17.

(f) Prov. xxiv. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 17

THE END.

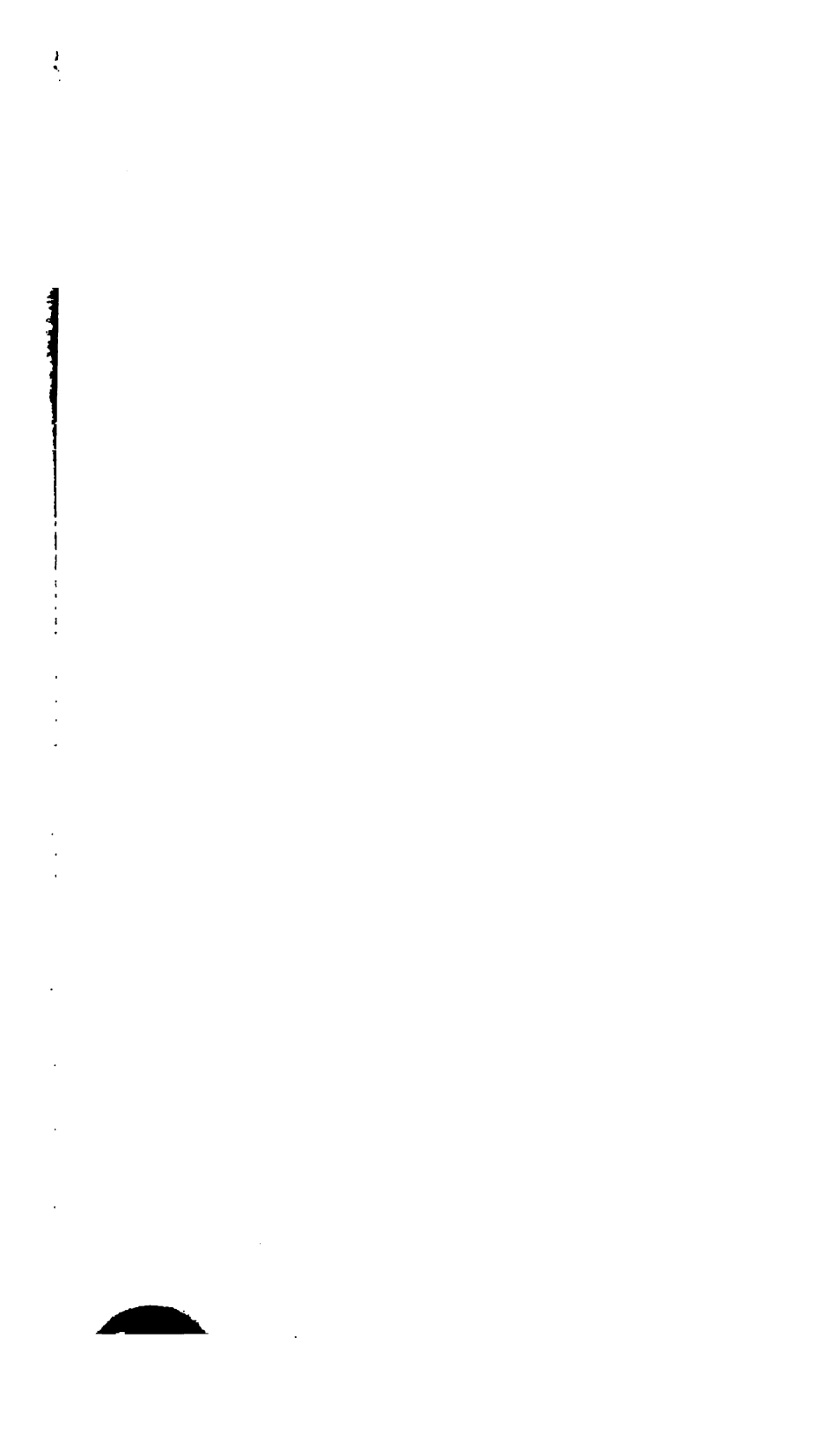
ERRATA.

Page x line 21, for *which indeed*, read *of which indeed*

4 4, Note, for *unllum*, read *nullum*

34 9, for *when be*, read *when we be*

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